

# GREEK AND ROMAN SCULPTURE

BY

A. FVRTWÄNGLER & H. L. VRLICH'S

TRANSLATED BY  
HORACE TAYLOR



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BY  
A. FURTWÄNGLER & H. L. URLICHS

*Translated by*  
HORACE TAYLOR



WITH 60 PLATES AND  
73 ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

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## PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION

THIS convenient small edition of the *Monuments of Greek and Roman Sculpture* just published in folio form appears in accordance with the wishes of a large number of professors and teachers of higher education in Germany, Austria and Switzerland. It should enable both teacher and student to form an idea of the contents of the large work.

The explanations and descriptions have been revised and improved by the authors, and translations of all the quotations in foreign languages have been added. The text is divided into ten groups arranged from an historical point of view and in regard to subject. Each of these groups is preceded by a new collective sketch which aims at a comprehensive view of the various examples from a broad and generalised standpoint. But at the same time the work still preserves its character as a collection of monuments and does not pretend to take the place of a complete history of the subject. These short articles are merely intended to give to each example its proper position in relation to the development of antique art. As all the principal periods are here presented the text of the groups constitutes a survey of the whole development of Greek and Roman sculpture.

Quotations from modern authors have been almost entirely avoided; only ancient writers are introduced in relevant passages. The special demands of schools and wider circles of cultured people have been kept in mind.

The pictorial part of the work has also been increased in this edition by one or two examples.

The two authors have worked on a mutually arranged plan in equal parts.

A. FURTWÄNGLER and H. L. URLICHS.

MUNICH, *June* 1898.

## PREFACE TO THIRD EDITION

THE aim of this book in its enlarged edition, with revised text and additional illustrations, remains the same as before: by means of a careful and just selection of examples to give a general understanding of the antique in its historic development and aesthetic importance.

The original text of Furtwängler, whose premature death we all deeply deplore, has been carefully and reverently revised; it has been altered as little as possible, though in many cases considerably amplified. Prominence is given to the disagreement of some of his colleagues with certain subjective opinions of the intrepid and enthusiastic investigator. In the completion of that part for which I alone am responsible Furtwängler's other works have been frequently referred to; in the case of the Aeginetan sculptures his publications have been the principal source. The latter remain for all time a permanent monument of energy and discrimination, of happy chance and inductive reasoning worthy of the great archaeologist.

HEINRICH LUDWIG URLICH.

MUNICH, *April* 1911.



# GREEK AND ROMAN SCULPTURE

## I

### ANCIENT ART

ART in Greece blossomed richly as early as the twentieth century B.C. It was the period of the so-called Mycenaean civilisation with its shining palaces, its gay coloured garments rich with golden ornaments, its beautiful weapons and vessels decorated with paintings and reliefs. The memory of this period lived on in the epic poems of the Greeks.

But although they were surrounded with art and beauty in that heroic age, monumental sculpture was still in its infancy. And even its beginnings were stunted as the Dorian migration was followed by a general retrogression of civilisation.

Plastic art only began to develop slowly and by degrees in the course of the seventh century B.C. It was not entirely a spontaneous growth, but stimulated from without by foreign examples, of which the connection of the Ionians with the Asiatic hinterland and more particularly the knowledge of Egypt were fruitful sources of inspiration. For the single standing figure the formula of Egyptian art was adopted, and this had in the beginning a great influence on the fashioning of detail. But the Greek spirit rapidly made its own way, throwing over the dead abstract formula and giving expression to individual life.

An excellent work in which the main features of the

Egyptian prototype and the properties of the vivacious Greek spirit are recognisable in the statue on Plate I.

It is executed in the beautiful marble from the isle of Paros, which only began to be used for monumental sculpture towards the end of the seventh century. Earlier Greek sculptures were as a rule executed in wood or the inferior sorts of limestone, which the ancients termed "Poros." It was in the islands of Naxos and Paros, so rich in marble, that sculpture in marble was first developed. It began in Naxos, but its somewhat coarser material was in time superseded by the infinitely more beautiful Parian marble. This came to be widely exported, and in Attica nearly all the ancient sculpture which is not executed in the local limestone is wrought in this same Parian marble. It was only in the fifth century that sculpture profited by the beautiful marble of Pentelicus near Athens.

Together with stone sculpture developed the casting of larger statues in bronze. Samian artists seem to have learnt the art of casting in moulds in Egypt and introduced it into Greece. But it was towards the end of the sixth century that casting in bronze reached its full development and became from then the principal medium for single figures.

In ancient plastic art human beings were executed as monuments for tombs as well as offerings for shrines; gods and heroes were also represented either as temple statues or as votive gifts in the shrines. For the same purpose animal figures were also executed. Plate I. is a statue from a tomb, Plate II. and fig. 1 are votive offerings from a shrine.

In the temples that from the end of the seventh century were customarily erected out of massive stone-blocks in the place of the wood and clay that had satisfied the ancients, decorative sculpture had its most grateful opportunity. The pediment and metopes and sometimes the frieze were now



PLATE I



ANCIENT STATUE OF A YOUTH FROM TENEA  
GLYPTOTHEK, MUNICH

covered with sculpture. Of Parian marble are the figures in the pediment of the temple of Aphaea at Aegina (Plates III. and IV. and figs. 4 and 5), a precious treasure of Archaic art at its best, excellent in its careful reproduction of natural forms and rhythmic action of the single figures and groups as in the vitality of the whole composition.

## PLATE I

## ANCIENT STATUE OF A YOUTH FROM TENEA

*In the Glyptothek, Munich*

This statue, about five feet in height, was discovered in 1846 in the neighbourhood of Corinth on the site of ancient Tenea, and was acquired by the Munich Glyptothek in 1853.

It is made of coarse-grained Parian marble. At the time of its discovery the arms and legs were broken in several pieces; the middle of the right arm was missing and has been restored. The rest of the figure is in excellent preservation; particularly the head, which was found protected by an overturned earthenware vessel, and is fortunately quite uninjured.

The statue represents a youth of stiff upright carriage. The weight of the body rests on both feet, the left being slightly advanced; both touch the ground with the whole sole. The arms hang perfectly symmetrically straight down on either side, and both hands are clasped with the thumbs outwards. The hair is long and falls in a broad mass down the back. It is cut up in arbitrary waves, and like the lips and eyes was without doubt at one time painted. A band surrounding the head was also originally coloured.

The statue is commonly designated the "Apollo of Tenea." It is certainly true that the type of youthful male figure before us is used in ancient Greek art for the god Apollo.



But it is equally used for the representation of men and heroes. In this case the circumstances of its discovery point decidedly to its being the statue of some departed mortal, for it was found in the Necropolis of Tenea on a tomb. The deceased is not, however, represented clothed as in life, but as an ideal nude figure, a higher being, a hero.

All the essentials of the scheme—with the exception of the complete nudity—are borrowed from Egyptian art; the first attempts of the Greeks in monumental statuary were based on Egyptian models. The execution in detail is pure Greek and markedly different from the habitual manner of the Egyptians. The youth is not merely put there as in similar Egyptian figures, but stands firmly, with knees pressed in, full of his own innate energy; and from the head there shines, instead of the insensible expression of the Egyptians, a ray of that free vital humanity that was to develop so gloriously in Greek art.

In the execution of the figure the legs are the most successful part. The small knees and ankles, the elegant feet, the strong fleshy muscles and their differentiation from the bony parts are surprisingly well rendered. The torso is far less perfect in execution; but even this, in contrast to its Egyptian prototype, shows an independent effort and individual observation of nature. Thus the thorax is essentially more accurately rendered than in the Egyptian type and in some older Greek works which follow this more closely.

The ideal before the artist is that of a young athletically-built youth with a powerful chest and slim supple-jointed limbs, with nothing soft and flabby about him.

The work belongs to the end of the seventh or beginning of the sixth century B.C., and is in all probability an excellent example of the artists Dipoinus and Scyllis or their school working at that time in the neighbourhood of Tenea (Cleonae, Argos, Corinth, and Sicyonia). It is by far the finest example



PLATE II



ANCIENT STATUE OF A GIRL  
ACROPOLIS MUSEUM, ATHENS

extant of the now no longer rare type of ancient sculpture which stands at the beginning of the development of plastic art in Greece.

## PLATE II

## ANCIENT STATUE OF A GIRL

*In the Acropolis Museum at Athens*

In the Acropolis at Athens in the eighties of the last century a number of antique female statues were discovered, executed in fine Parian marble and to a certain extent preserving their original painted colouring. They were found in the so-called Persian ash-heap, that is the ashes left through the destruction of the citadel by fire by the Persians about 480 B.C.

One of the best of these pieces is reproduced on Plate II. The statue was found in 1886 in three separate fragments in the north-west of the Erechtheum. It is a little under life-size.

The girl stands quite in the ancient manner with legs together. The right arm with closed fist hangs in imitation of the Egyptian model as in the figure of the youth shown on Plate I. The left forearm was horizontally extended and separately affixed; it has not been found. The clothing consists of an Ionic linen chiton which is only visible below in wavy lines, over it is drawn a woollen Doric pepulum fastened on both shoulders. This is bound with a girdle both ends of which hang down in front; both before and behind the pepulum overlaps almost to the waist. Only on the upper arm and on either side of the girdle are there small flat folds in the pepulum, the greater part of the drapery is represented quite flat.

This flatness of the drapery and the pose with the legs together are typical of early archaic art. The head on the



FIG. 1. MAIDEN FROM THE  
ACROPOLIS.

other hand is surprisingly refined in execution and life-like in expression. The statue is essentially later than the youth in Plate I.; the face and the treatment of the hair are in a considerably more advanced style. The artist had he wished could, like others of his contemporaries, have used a freer pose and folds in the drapery; he has followed purposely in pose and drapery a decidedly earlier tradition. The effect he has achieved is indeed striking; the contrast of the stiff carriage and flat surfaces of the figure with the head sparkling with life is exceedingly captivating and makes this figure one of the most attractive among her comrades on the Acropolis.

Her hair hangs quite freely and loosely on her shoulders and far down her back; it dispenses with all artificial arrangement. A simple straight band lies in it. The red colouring of the hair is well-preserved; the iris of the eye is also red. On the drapery is some ornamentation finely painted with red and green; three broad stripes run downward from the girdle; and the hem below as well as that of the



overlap exhibits a very dainty ornamentation. But the greater part of the drapery is like the flesh left simply white.

As an example of a figure of the same period, but in a totally different convention, we give a second statue (fig. 1) from the same excavation on the Acropolis. Until lately only the upper part of this figure was perfect, and the figure has



FIG. 2. HEAD OF FIG. 1.

only quite recently been completed through a happy adjustment of further fragments. The figure now with the left foot advanced and the drapery in rich folds held up by the left hand looks quite different in pose and dress from our Plate I. Slim and elegant she stands there tapering like a column. The position of the feet is still awkward—it is a weak attempt to express the action of walking. The strong and varied folds of the close-fitting drapery are

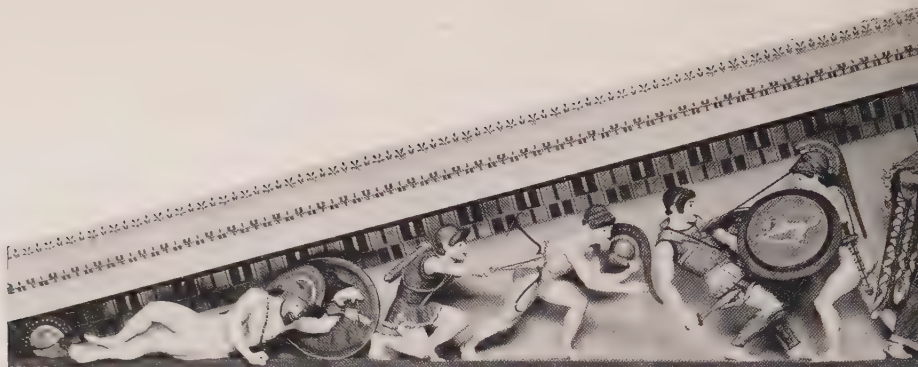
engraved and show the form of the legs distinctly. The somewhat empty surfaces were originally enlivened with painting. The extended right hand probably held some fruit. This richly-clad maiden wears over the Ionic chiton an overdress across the breast, fastened on the right shoulder and hanging in elaborate folds. The head (fig. 2) with its dainty curls is adorned with a diadem.<sup>1</sup> The expression of the face with its full sensuous lips is particularly pleasing. The borders of the draperies are, as in the statue in Plate II., embellished with coloured ornaments.

The true home of the artistic tendency displayed in this figure is undoubtedly Ionia, Asia Minor, and particularly the Island of Chios, while the style of the other statue (Plate II.) more probably grew up in detached islands like Naxos, and in the Peloponnesus.

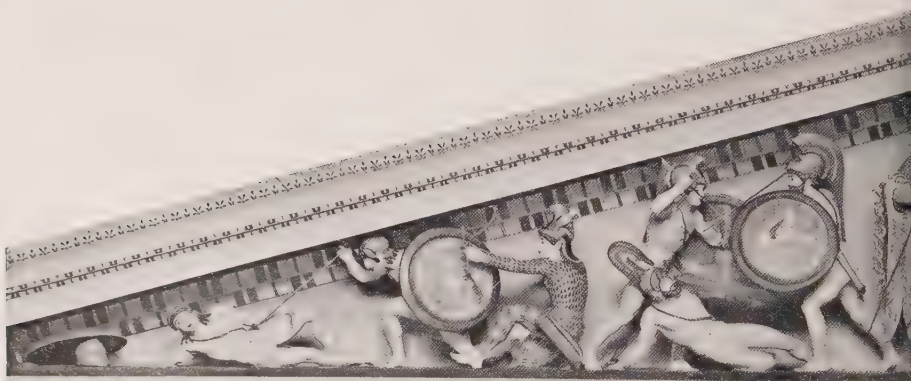
The date of neither statue can be placed earlier than before the last quarter of the sixth century. We cannot give them any name but that of κόραι, "maidens"; they are not goddesses but merely statues of maidens, dedicated to Athena. They are among the most precious things that archaic art has bequeathed to us.

<sup>1</sup> On the top of the head a long, sharp-pointed metal nail is inserted to protect the figure from birds. Cf. Horace, *Satires*, I, 8, 3-7.





EASTERN PEDIMENT OF THE

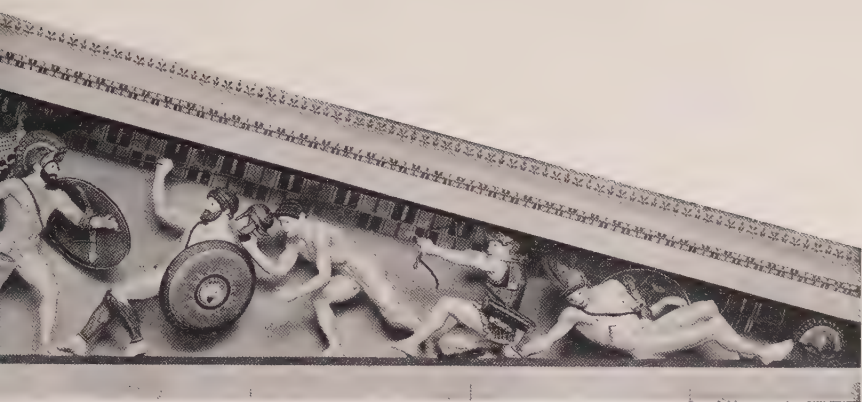


WESTERN PEDIMENT OF THE



FALLEN WARRIOR FROM WESTERN PEDIMENT

GLYPTOTHEK, MUNICH



E OF APHAEA (RESTORED)



E OF APHAEA (RESTORED)



FALLEN WARRIOR FROM EASTERN PEDIMENT

GLYPTOTHEK, MUNICH





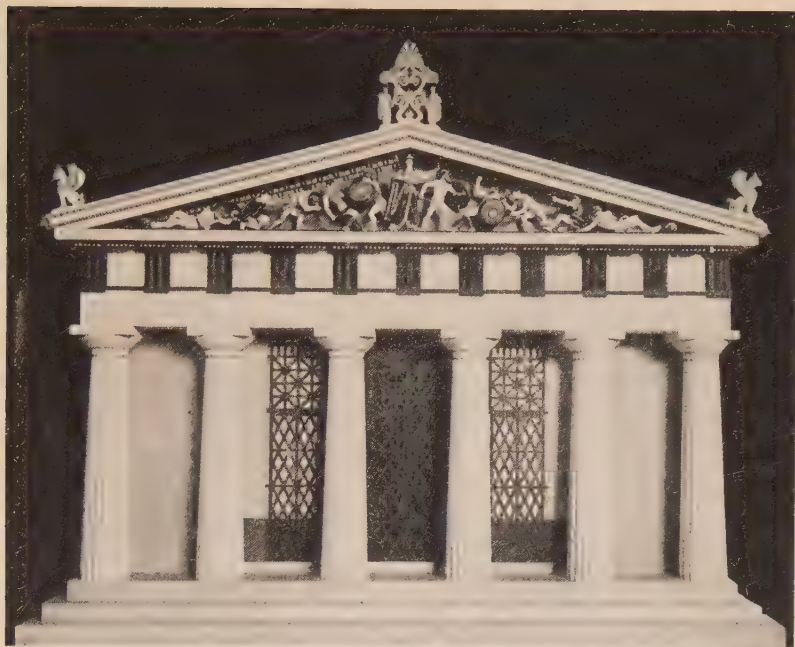


FIG. 3. COMPLETE RESTORATION OF THE EASTERN PEDIMENT OF THE TEMPLE OF APHAEA AT AEGINA.

### PLATES III AND IV

#### THE PEDIMENTS OF THE TEMPLE OF APHAEA AT AEGINA

On the island of Aegina opposite Athens, away from any large settlements, there rises in silent solitude a temple on a wooded height. There a fortunate fate preserved in a comparatively good condition the now world-famous Aeginetan sculptures. Rather more than a hundred years ago two architects, Cockerell an Englishman and Haller von Hallerstein of Nuremberg, inspired by a noble enthusiasm for the antique and full of the romantic feelings of youth, recovered from the undisturbed ruins of the temple the statues of fine Parian marble, under the gracious protection of Athena

Ergane. The acquisition in the teeth of their numerous competitors, the journey from Malta with storms at sea and dangers from pirates, the landing at Naples and the journey by land to Rome, all read like a modern *Odyssey*. The rescue was the work of the sculptor Martin von Wagner, the active and persistent agent of the Crown Prince Louis of Bavaria.<sup>1</sup> The two discoverers, who were devoted friends and equally inspired by noble aims, remain to posterity a shining example and incentive to imitation. Honour is above all due to the art-loving prince, who immediately after their discovery realised the worth of the Aeginetan marbles and brought about their purchase. For since 1828 they have served in the Glyptothek at Munich as a very important example of the best archaic art, and have given two generations some acquaintance, however superficial, with this style. The "Aeginetan smile," which is the amiable expression of emotion, obtained among those ignorant of its intention an often almost comic interpretation. Ninety years after the first exploration the temple precincts were thoroughly examined under Furtwängler's energetic and careful guidance; by means of new discoveries and renewed investigation of the old material, the reconstruction has been accomplished on which our exposition is based. The models<sup>2</sup> in the Glyptothek, one-fifth the natural size, arouse a lively interest in all beholders, partly on account of the restoration of the

<sup>1</sup> After the successful purchase of the precious treasure in 1813, he expressed his joyful thanks in a letter in the characteristic words: "Like Odysseus you have suffered much, Wagner, on my account, and I will not forget it as long as I live." The accompanying present, a gold watch, has on the back an "L" surrounded by the following inscription, slightly altered from Vergil (*Aeneid*, i. 204), "Post varios casus, post tot discrimina rerum" ("After manifold vicissitudes, after so many perils").

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 2 represents the east front in restoration. Six columns, in the centre the graceful Palmette with two female figures, at each corner a gryphon. The metopes, of which not a trace has been found, perhaps consisted of painted wooden panels. The whole is an admirable example of the strictly regular Doric Order in severe, compact style.

rich painting. Beside the harmonious completeness and rhythmic variety of the two pediments the scattered and defective parts of the original appear dull and tedious. Their restoration was carried out in Rome under Thorwaldsen's guidance in marble, in the manner of the time without much reverence for the pieces preserved. The name of the temple itself was also established during the Bavarian excavations; the shrine, at first falsely attributed to Zeus Panhellenius, later with more apparent justification to Athena, is now through the discovery of an inscription proved to be the temple of Aphaea. The cult of this local goddess so highly esteemed on the island was introduced there by Cretan settlers in the early days of Greece, in the twentieth century B.C. For the then indigenous Aphaea a new house was built between 490 and 480 B.C. The style of architecture and sculpture point to this period; a more certain date is so far not possible.

We now turn to the consideration of the sculpture itself and begin with the composition. The very first glance informs us that the statues stand admirably in the space, which slopes steeply from the centre, adapting themselves architecturally to the pediment without appearing stiff, but rather suggesting the notion of vigorous life. Thus the difficult task of filling the narrow frame is solved. Within the pediment also the artists have striven for a great variety of subject and grouping, of arms and costume. Particularly the contrast in the general treatment of the two scenes obviates an all too easily possible monotony. In both the warrior-goddess stands among her heroes, in the first in a restful pose in which only the foot suggests a gentle walking action, the second time wildly advancing with the Aegis widely spread. She forms a fixed point in the centre and ensures the strict symmetry of the whole. In the western pediment there follows on either side an admirable group of

three warriors; after an ancient formula two heroes fight over one lying on the ground. Then follow two assailants advancing towards one already wounded. In this reclining figure, and in the shield and helmet at the end, the gradual abatement of the din of battle seems to be symbolically suggested, and at the same time the architectural difficulties of filling this portion successfully overcome.<sup>1</sup>

Though equally regular, the east front presents a more varied and spirited appearance; detachment instead of combination, more motley variety of movement, an almost elastic rising and falling of limbs like the waves of the sea. The groups on either side of the goddess are composed of four figures. A hero is sinking back in the act of receiving his death-blow from a victorious assailant, a squire hurries to his aid whilst an archer aims an arrow at the confident victor—a picture of heroism and fidelity in a simple form. And once more the heated battle softly dies away; far from the tumult two mortally wounded heroes breathe their last; weapons complete the whole.

The principal achievement of the artist lies in the space-filling, as simple as it is ingenious, the happy result of mature consideration. The chief groups taken by themselves are quite successful compositions, and every part is worthy of examination in detail. The contrast of rest and action, of nudity and clothing, the variety of arms and weapons, everything awakens interest and attention. Sinking backwards, hurrying forwards, reclining, kneeling, and springing aside, every figure gives new delight; each in its way is in pose and action a worthy achievement, the most ambitious of all being the splendidly successful rendering of the dying hero in the round. Looking at the whole composition, the beholder is

<sup>1</sup> On account of certain discoveries and internal evidence a rearrangement of some of the figures has recently been made. The unarmed and defenceless corner figures have replaced the still armed and vigorous warriors between the fighters, and these fallen figures have been relegated to the corners.



carried away to the death-dealing wars of Troy and in his imagination many a verse or episode of the *Iliad* is there plastically embodied; more vividly in the presence of the brightly painted models.<sup>1</sup> But the illustration of definite episodes is scarcely intended, the two pediments rather aim at a certain typical representation of the long and changeful struggle round the sturdy citadel. And this comprehensive picture is attained by small means, with twelve or thirteen figures. That the incidents refer to Troy might be conjectured from the warlike nature of the subject, but it is definitely suggested by the last figure but one on the right of the eastern pediment (also reproduced in fig. 5). Heracles is recognisable by the lion's head in front of his helmet, of which it forms a part; he joined the Aeginetans with Telamon, son of Aeacus, against the Trojan prince Laomedon. The back pediment, therefore, can only refer to the later and more famous expedition, wherein the heroes of the island, above all Ajax, son of Telamon, played a prominent part. The praise of this double deed of fame is loudly sung by Pindar,<sup>2</sup> so that the sculptures as well as contemporary literature are evidence of the popularity of the legend. Its representation is well suited to keep alive the memory of their ancestors among this sturdy and energetic sea-folk. A more definite indication either of individual figures or exact illustrations of the epos lay neither in his commission nor in the mind of the sculptor. Every beholder, every inhabitant of the island was involuntarily reminded of the battles of Ilion and of the glorious deeds of his ancestors. More than this the art of that time did not aim at expressing, did not achieve.

A closer examination of single figures enables us to

<sup>1</sup> Remains of the original painting are still to be found on the marble; they were abundantly noticeable soon after the discovery of the sculptures.

<sup>2</sup> *Nemean Songs of Victory*, iii. 36, iv. 24 *et seq.*; *Isthmian*, v. 35 *et seq.* and vi. 27 *et seq.*



FIG. 4. HEAD AND SHOULDERS OF A SQUIRE.  
From the right-hand side of the Eastern Pediment.

appreciate the style. The figures are under life-size, the body short, the legs long; on the western pediment the outlines clean and precise, almost hard in comparison with the fuller, rounder forms of the eastern pediment; in the latter, too, there is more expression in the spirited faces: a transitional style, a mingling of the ancient and the more advanced, an earnest struggle for perfection. The marble technique is boldly practised, competing with that of bronze; even extended limbs are executed without supports. There is scarcely a trace of a relief style of handling. The figures fully modelled in the round are placed free from the wall, mostly in profile, sometimes with a slight turn approaching full face, one or two in awkward positions: the western Athena sets her feet sideways, her body turned to the front. Keen observation of nature, loving execution, and faithful render-

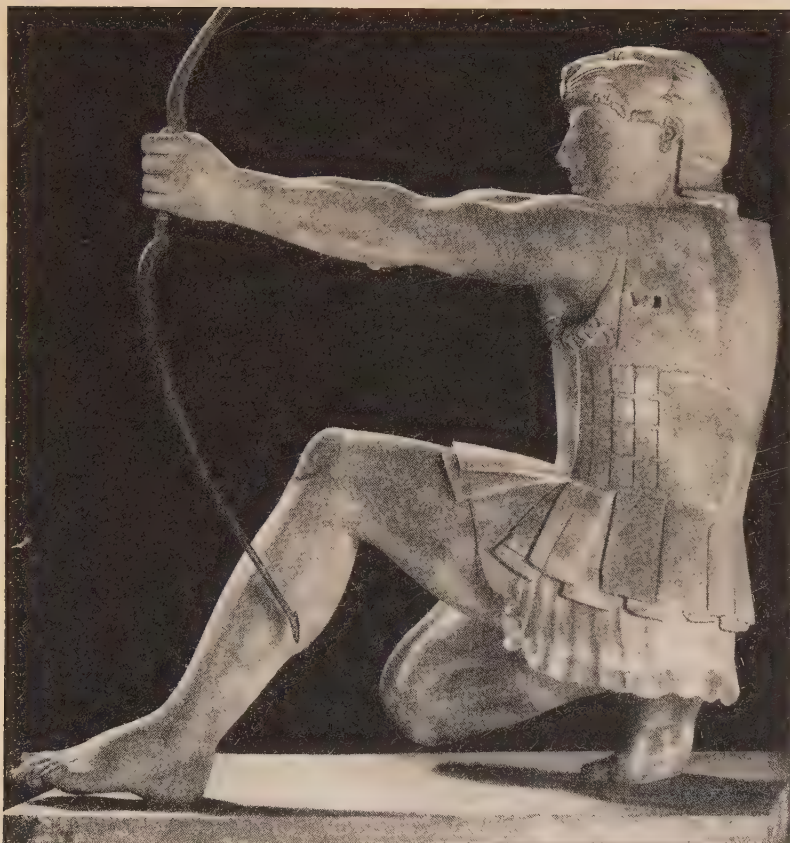


FIG. 5. HERACLES WITH THE BOW.  
From the right-hand side of the Eastern Pediment.

ing of the nude distinguish these works of ripe archaic art. One never tires of studying the exuberant, often naïvely effective freshness of the faces; they are the buds which expanded and blossomed into the highest art. The bright joy of creation which inspired the master communicates itself to the spectator, particularly before the marbles in the Glyptothek. Every one who feels the charm of the antique will turn to these away from reproductions, and here a

comparison with other sculpture in the Museum brings home to one the enormous difference between the original and the copy. It is impossible, in the absence of written evidence, to allocate the Aeginetan marbles to any school or particular artists; in any case that sureness of technique and wonderful naturalism were only attainable by long practice, under the influence certainly of the eastern islands, of Ionia, of neighbouring Athens, and perhaps of a local tradition. Certain figures have been particularly famous in the past. The bearded warrior who, mortally wounded in the breast, still bears himself like a hero, arouses a strong sympathy in the beholder, above all when one looks at the suffering face. The treatment of form is admirable; for example, the accurate rendering of the veins and muscles of the left leg. In the wounded youth, whose attitude with the right leg drawn across the left suggests convulsive pain, it is the face that in the first place attracts attention; though the tight-drawn open mouth betokens extreme pain, only repressed suffering is visible in the serious thoughtful glance. This head with its protruding almond-shaped eyes remains a notable example of the ancient style. Very characteristic is the abundant hair, which forms two rows of curls in front and hangs down behind in a long broad mass; a few stray locks of metal lay at one time on the breast. All the freshness of archaic art looks out of the face of the young squire (fig. 4) who hurries up and, bending forward, holds out to his staggering lord his fallen helmet. On the well rounded skull the hair is arranged as in the left-hand lower figure in Plates III. and IV., in the fashion of the period but treated in an artistic convention; it falls forward from the crown and is gathered in front in three rows of little curls, which are remarkable for their careful execution. The back of the head was painted, and from ear to ear runs a double plait. The figure is modelled fully in the round. In the lively expression of the face the



eager zeal of the faithful servant is naïvely expressed. The kneeling archer (fig. 5) next to the dying warrior in the right-hand corner of the eastern pediment has always been counted a pearl of Aeginetan sculpture. Sure of aim, certain of victory, the young Heracles is here represented in the act of loosing his arrow. The pose itself is very striking. Only the ball of the right foot and the heel of the left touch the ground, even the right knee is clear. This gives such truth of movement, such elastic action to this athletically built hero, that one almost wonders if this is cold marble or warm pulsating life. "What expression of tension and energy, of pride and courage, of self-conscious confidence in the full mastery of muscle and limb that only gymnastic training can give! There is no part of the body that does not show this tension. And so are all the Aeginetans. They know no giving way, no letting themselves go; only death can release the tension—a race never tired or weary, always gay and glad, always rejoicing in labour, always ready to put the whole sinewy body, steeled in muscular exercise, into the thing to be done."

Thus the study of the individual figures provides as much delight as the pediments as a whole in their reconstruction in the models. We are grateful for these fruits of investigation, and will now appreciate much better than our fathers and grandfathers the style and composition of the famous Aeginetan sculpture. And nowhere more than in Munich, where Ludwig I. of Bavaria has provided a distinguished and classical home by Klenze for this treasure of the antique. And yet these sculptures in all their glory of form and colour could only have had their full effect in the place for which they were made, in relation to the architecture for which they were designed. On the solitary heights of Aegina, in the clear light of the southern sun, they adorned the pediment of that Doric temple whose pale gleaming ruins to-day smile from afar a greeting to travellers by sea.



## II

### STATUES OF GODS IN THE FIFTH CENTURY

AFTER Greek art had freed itself from the fetters of the ancient convention the statues of gods gained extraordinarily in vitality and depth of character. Whereas formerly sculptors had been content to give to a generalised human statue the outward attributes of a god, Zeus being distinguishable from any dignified bearded man, Apollo from any youth, only by means of accessories, they now sought and found means of expressing the inward character, and those individual qualities of each god long familiar to them in their poetry and religion. The great art of the fifth century well understood how to do this and at the same time to preserve the exalted and divine element as a keynote, whilst a later period emphasised the human side.

The fifth century is the truly classic period of statues of the gods. In it the finest and most important creations and those which had the most enduring influence were executed. By far the greatest number of these are the work of Attic artists, among them first of all Myron, then Phidias and his pupils, particularly Agoracritos and Alcamenes.

Of Athena, nearly all the most characteristic statues date from the fifth century. Compared to these, later statues have a feeble and insipid appearance. Only the earlier art gave full expression to the earnestness and stern lofty purity of the goddess.

Our plates (V. and VI.) give two Athena statues of

Phidias, in antique copies, the Lemnian Athena and the Athena Parthenos. In spite of their relationship they are utterly dissimilar. On the one hand we have the shining, ever-victorious goddess in pomp and splendour, with the Victory in her hand, in full armour and glittering with ornaments, her ears and neck, helmet and shield, and even the soles of her sandals festively adorned, her face in joyous pride directed calmly towards the pious worshippers in the temple; on the other hand the Lemnian, simple and unadorned, in homely work-a-day dress, her helmet in her hand, her whole appearance merely that of a strong, pure virgin, with her head turned a little to one side, as boyish-innocent as she is wonderfully beautiful.

The Lemnian Athena is preserved to us in very much better copies than the Parthenos, this colossal work in ivory and gold having only come down to us in quotations, the bronze figure, to follow the simile, in accurate transcriptions. Only these last give us an idea of the highest and best that Phidias was capable of.

A third statue of Athena (Plate VII.), also one of the finest statues of the fifth century, shows us another artist's conception of the goddess; in place of the benign beauty pictured by Phidias we have something more thoughtful and severe, her wise and thoughtful qualities seeming to the artist the most important.

These three different versions of the same Athena are a clear indication that the sculptors of the creative, the really classical period of antique art, had no fixed type for their gods. Each artist worked for himself and sought to discover new sides of the deity, so that even the Athena statues of Phidias himself are quite distinct from each other. The widespread notion that among the ancients there was a so-called ideal canon for each deity is a mistake and is only partly true of later times, when nothing new was invented

and when out of all the varied wealth of earlier creations only a few were preserved by constant repetition, and thus formed the canon.

Another fine statue is the Apollo from the school of Phidias shown on Plate VIII. He is here represented as the god of high, serious music, advancing with a solemn step in the flowing robes of a citharodes in the act of striking up a sacred hymn.

Also of the school of Phidias is the Hera on Plate IX.

The Olympian Zeus of Phidias is unfortunately only known to us in faint outlines on small coins of the time of Hadrian; the excavations at Olympia have only brought to light fragments of the stone plinth of this wonderful colossal statue of gold and ivory.

Of Asclepius, on the other hand, many statues are preserved to us. These go back to the creations of the Phidian circle and one of the finest is that shown on Plate X.

The Dioscuri from Monte Cavallo (Plate XI.) are strong and vigorous in action, and their unclothed heroic figures, in contrast to still draped deities, form a necessary complement to them in our conception of what Phidian art achieved in the representation of mythological figures.<sup>1</sup>

The soaring Niké of Paionios (Plate XII.), of which the original is fortunately preserved, is related to the above in its spirited movement.

<sup>1</sup> See text to Plate XI.





THE ATHENA LEMNIA OF PHIDIAS

ALBERTINUM, DRESDEN



## PLATE V

THE ATHENA LEMNIA OF PHIDIAS <sup>1</sup>*Marble Statue in the Royal Albertinum, Dresden*

This plate reproduces a marble statue, rather over life-size, in the Albertina Museum at Dresden. The head, of which two views are given (figs. 7 and 8), is a plaster cast from a marble original in the municipal museum at Bologna. The right breast and the stump of the left arm are also of plaster; they are from a second statue in Dresden, an exact reproduction of the first, in which these parts are in better preservation. In the second statue the head is also preserved, but in a mutilated condition. This head, though broken off, fitted perfectly the broken surface on the torso and therefore undoubtedly belongs to it. It is an exact replica of the beautifully preserved head in Bologna which has therefore been used for the restoration of the first Dresden statue here reproduced. The proof of the connection of this helmetless head of unique beauty, formerly regarded as a masculine type, with the Athena statue has only quite recently been obtained, together with the evidence that we have in this marble work of Roman times, in all probability, a faithful copy of a lost bronze of Phidias, that very statue from the Acropolis of Athens which was called by the ancients Athena Lemnia and considered one of the finest works of the master.

<sup>1</sup> This wonderful work, which revives for us one of the finest statues of the fifth century, is now considered the work not of Phidias, but of an Attic or Peloponnesian contemporary, or one who united the elements of both schools. A final solution of the problem is only possible if copies of the "Lemnia" came to light on other monuments that made clear the destination of the original; records such as dedicatory reliefs or coins of a certain settlement or place of religious worship.



FIG. 6. THE SO-CALLED ATHENA LEMNIA.  
From the Restoration in the Gipsmuseum, Munich.

Attic vase pictures, an Attic relief, and copies of the upper part of the statue, which are frequently found on old stone carvings, make it highly probable that the outstretched right hand of the goddess at one time held a helmet. The raised left hand undoubtedly rested on the spear (fig. 6). The Aegis, still in the ancient manner quite big, is hung slanting



FIG. 7. HEAD OF THE ATHENA LEMNIA.  
Municipal Museum, Bo'ogna.

and girt above the hips with snakes. It leaves the left breast exposed, and probably this manner of adjusting the Aegis is meant to suggest the peaceful character of the goddess, also indicated by the uncovered head. The hair is rather short and coiled up at the back. A broad band, fastened at the back, cuts deep into the soft thick curly hair. The Bolognese head gives very faithfully the fine chiselling of the hair of the original. The eye-sockets in this head are empty, because the eyes were inserted in some coloured material in imitation of the manner of the bronze original.

The goddess stands firmly with the weight on the right leg, the left set a little to one side; though both feet rest with

the whole sole on the ground the figure has more action than the Athena Parthenos. The modelling of the figure is strong and slender, rather masculine. The hips are narrow, the breasts flat, but the chest strong and broad. The head, too, has a mingling of feminine and boyish-masculine qualities. The goddess is an ideal of purity, innocence, and strength.

The head is turned very much to one side, while the body takes no part in this movement but looks perfectly straight in front. There is in this a certain hardness which is peculiar to works as late as the middle of the fifth century. The turn of the head proves that the statue is not from a temple, for the head of a temple statue must turn more towards the worshippers approaching in front.

The goddess wears the same garment as the Athena Parthenos—the Doric peplum of thick woollen material. It has a broad overlap and is therefore bound at the waist. On the right side it is open. It is the characteristic garment of the vigorous maiden.<sup>1</sup> The drapery is very like that of the Parthenos, but it is marked by a more spontaneous and less obviously intentional arrangement. There are, however, several signs in the conventional treatment, both of the drapery and the head, that the original must have been a little earlier than the Parthenos.

This original must have been a very famous statue. Besides several copies in marble, there are, as remarked above, many reproductions of the upper part of the statue on gems and cameos. That the original was in bronze and not a temple statue is already proved. The marked correspondence with the Athena Parthenos leads us to think it the work of the same artist, Phidias. Monuments bear witness to the existence of a once famous unhelmeted Athena in the Phidian style. On the other hand, we know from literary

<sup>1</sup> Concerning this costume compare the text to the relief "The Eleusinian Deities" (Plate XIII.).



FIG. 8. HEAD OF ATHENA LEMNIA.  
Profile.

sources <sup>1</sup> that on the Acropolis at Athens there stood, not in a temple but as a votive offering in the open, a bronze statue of Athena by Phidias, which was famous for its extraordinary beauty and was called after those who dedicated it the "Lemnian." Lucian <sup>2</sup> particularly praises the face of the goddess, the whole outline of which, evidently unprejudiced by an Attic helmet, he takes as the finest example of the most famous statues. Further we learn from Himerius <sup>3</sup> of an Athena of Phidias characterised by beauty of face and absence of helmet, but not more definitely indicated. But

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias' *Itinerary of Greece*, i. 28, 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Dialogues*, 6; cf. also 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Dialogues*, 21, 4.



it was the Lemnian, as we gather from Lucian, that was considered among the later rhetorical writers as the Athena of Phidias that excelled in beauty, so the identification of the helmetless Athena with the Lemnian may be regarded as almost certain. The literary description of this helmetless Athena, famous for the unique beauty of her face, agrees so exactly with this Phidian Athena as preserved in marble copies and disclosed in gems, that there can be no doubt as to its identity.

In the marble copies of the Lemnian Athena we have for the first time a statue of a deity by Phidias in an exact form and in size approaching that of the original; for the copies of the Parthenos are all very inaccurate, being free reductions of a colossal figure.

The date of the Athena Lemnia is about the middle of the fifth century. More accurately perhaps 447, as it probably has some connection with the reduction by half of the Lemnian annual tribute which took place at this time. The reason of this was in all probability that Attic citizens received new land on Lemnos, on which account the tribute would naturally be reduced. The statue executed by Phidias is most likely an expression of the gratitude of the Athenians on Lemnos for their strengthening through reinforcements of Attic citizens and a sign of nearer relations with their homeland and her goddess. The statue was called the Lemnian, after the Athenians on Lemnos who dedicated it.

## PLATE VI

## ATHENA PARTHENOS

*Statuette in Pentelican marble in the National Museum, Athens*

Towards the end of the year 1880 this well-preserved statuette, with a base a little over a metre in height, came to light at Athens in the neighbourhood of a gymnasium called after its founder the Varvakion; named after the place of its discovery, it soon became one of the best known relics of the antique. It is a copy of the time of Hadrian. There is no doubt, from a comparison with the exact description which Pausanias<sup>1</sup> gives of the original and with already identified copies of the masterpiece, that this is a reproduction of the statue executed by Phidias for the 14 metre high cella of the Parthenon at Athens in 438 B.C. It was mainly composed of wood, the draped parts covered with a thin removable layer of gold, while plates of ivory covered the nude parts of the figure. The entire height was probably about 12 metres,<sup>2</sup> the weight of the gold alone about 44 talents—1152.62 kg. The Varvakion statuette gives for the first time a complete representation of the colossal chryselephantine statue. Although executed in the days of the Roman Empire without much artistic understanding, it presents the statue faithfully without arbitrary alterations, only partially stripped of its rich accessories, such as the reliefs.

The goddess stands upright, a strong youthful form, on an architecturally moulded pedestal. The peplum, which is arranged in rigid folds, reaches to the feet and is open on the

<sup>1</sup> *Itinerary of Greece*, i. 24, 5-7.

<sup>2</sup> The height of the gold and ivory statue was reckoned between eleven and twelve metres without the base. Schwanthaler's colossal bronze statue of Bavaria, which towers mightily above the hill by the Theresienwiese at Munich, is without the stately stone pedestal about 20.5 metres—about twice as high.



FIG. 9. GEM OF ASPASIA.  
Imperial Antique Collection, Vienna.

right side; the upper fold falls below the waist and is fastened with a girdle and artistically disposed in regular folds. In the middle of the scaly, snake-bordered Aegis, which lies like a collar over the breast, a Medusa head in the old grotesque style is introduced. The helmet has a broad band in front and extends protectively over the neck behind. It fits close to the head but permits little ringlets to curl out over the ears, while two long strands of hair from the back lie on the Aegis. The helmet towers up in rich ornaments. In the centre the curved plume which flows down the back springs from a sphinx, on either side partially damaged winged horses form the foundation of further plumes. The cheek pieces project upwards in a sloping direction.

Of the thick-soled feet the right stands firmly on the ground, and thus takes the weight, the left is slightly raised and set a little to one side, showing the form of the leg

PLATE VI



ATHENA PARTHENOS  
NATIONAL MUSEUM, ATHENS





through the drapery, to which it gives a slight movement without disturbing the regularity of the whole. Both arms are adorned at the wrist with snake bracelets. On her open right hand hovers with lowered wings the Nike in a flowing robe, the constant companion of victorious Athena. The head of this figure is not preserved. She is half turned towards the spectator, to whom probably she held a wreath. As the free arm of Athena would not have been able to sustain the weight of the Nike, a support in the form of a pillar has been introduced, which at the same time fills the somewhat empty space on the right-hand side. For the left hand of the goddess lightly holds the large round shield, which, decorated with a Gorgon mask in the centre, rests on a slight elevation. In the hollow winds a mighty bearded serpent, the guardian of the hill, the sacred animal of Erichthonius. Athena's weapon, the spear, leant in the original against her left shoulder.

Although in a very diminished degree,<sup>1</sup> the spiritual qualities that informed the original are still imprinted in the face of this poor copy. In flawless preservation it shows full rounded forms, as is the case with the powerfully built neck. The half opened mouth imparts an expression of spirited life, which must have been enhanced in the original by the gleaming eyes of precious stones. In the wise thoughtful features, lofty and mild, we recognise the daughter of Zeus, the wise counsellor, from whose forehead she sprang and whom she reveals. In the sublimity of the whole figure lies its greatness. For in spite of the smallness of the copy we seem to see the statue before us in all its grand proportions, and form an idea of the sacred figure that, even detached from the severe Doric architecture of the pillared cella, fills the beholder

<sup>1</sup> The admirable gem of Aspasia from the time of Augustus (fig. 9) supplies a substitute.

with religious awe, while the appearance of the frieze<sup>1</sup> with its variety of spirited life exalts his mood. In this gold and ivory statue Phidias gave expression to much of that from which the blossoms of the time of Pericles sprang: strength that commands respect, armed peace after victorious battles, soul and intellect, and, lastly, wealth in abundance. "The goddess on the hill was the personification of the mighty town, whose mastery extended over land and sea. She was the sovereign and shield of her people and their allies, and led them to victory by land and sea." This conception of Athena the majestic, peaceful, but strong and well-armed goddess, as distinguished from the Pallas of the brandished spear, the battle-thirsty Promachos of an older time, remained from this time forward the standard type in art, and is now familiar to us.

## PLATE VII

### ATHENA OF VELLETRI

#### *Colossal Statue in the Louvre, Paris*

This well-preserved marble statue reproduces a famous bronze original. We possess other marble copies, particularly of the head, for example that in the Munich Glyptothek from the Villa Albani at Rome; but the Parisian statue, found in a Roman villa at Velletri, is the best of the copies.

The goddess stands in a majestic attitude. She rests firmly on the left leg, drawing the right after her; the point of the right foot is turned outwards, giving a broad monumental character to the lower part of the figure. The right arm is raised, holding the shaft of the spear towards the point. The spear slopes inwards to the ground on which it rests.

<sup>1</sup> Examples are given on Plates XVI.-XVII.

PLATE VII



ATHENA OF VELLETRI

LOUVRE, PARIS





FIGS. 10 and 11. HEAD OF ATHENA OF VELLETRI.

The right hand and fore-arm are restored, as the arm was broken at the elbow; it was probably rather more bent. The left arm lies close to the body, the fore-arm outstretched. The hand is restored; according to an old Athenian copper coin, which reproduces the original statue, it bore a Nike, the figure so indissolubly associated with the goddess in Athens, and borne by the Athena Parthenos of Phidias. On another coin from Amastris in Paphlagonia, which also gives the original, the left hand holds the Owl.

The drapery consists of the Doric peplos of coarse woollen material, girt as in the Parthenos with a snake; at the side, however, it is not open but sewn up. Over this she wears a cloak, also of heavy woollen stuff, that rests on the left shoulder and, wound round the hips, is held in its place



by the left arm. A large three-cornered piece hangs down in front. This cloak adds greatly to the majestic appearance of the goddess.

The Aegis, which here also has snakes on the upper border, rests on the breast like a collar, and is purposely quite small, as Athena is not conceived as the fighting goddess. On her head rests a Corinthian helmet; this, when lowered, covered the whole face having cuts for the eyes. It was usually worn pushed back as in the portrait of Pericles. The goddess wears her hair brushed back in a simple style.

The features and expression of the head (figs. 10 and 11) are in complete contrast to the full broad face and joyful, victorious character of the Parthenos. Here the expression is serious and severe; it is a presentment of the meditative thoughtful maiden, wise and pure.

The head is admirably preserved. It seems narrow and delicate above the broad massive breast. Very characteristic is the treatment of the drapery, nothing but simple heavy precise folds, without a touch of prettiness, but which play a great part in the majesty and power of the whole impression.

Peculiarities in the style of the head and drapery give a clue to the period and even the artists to whom we owe the original. It must belong to the time of Pericles, but towards the end of that period, shortly before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war. As the Athenian coin shows, it was in the province of Athens. The artist must have worked independently and in opposition to the circle of Phidias. A detailed comparison with other works—for example, the Pericles bust and the Medusa Rondanini—tends to show that it was probably Cresilas, the sculptor of the Pericles.

But the statue is perhaps identical with an Athena Soteira, a statue in the shrine of Zeus Soter at Piræus much admired in antique times. The goddess is conceived as the saviour, the wise and mighty guardian of victorious Athens.





APOLLO WITH A CITHARA

GLYPTOTHEK, MUNICH

## PLATE VIII

## APOLLO WITH THE CITHARA

*Colossal Marble Statue in the Munich Glyptothek*

A lofty noble figure approaches us with a slow solemn step. He pauses in his stride, resting on the right leg and drawing the left after him. A large cithara is pressed close against the body with the left arm, but it must have been secured by a band slung across the breast. The right hand was quietly extended and held the cup ready for the libation. The right arm is entirely modern. Music, and singing are not portrayed, but the moment of the solemn entry and the offering before the beginning of the festive music.

The figure was formerly held to be that of a woman. Winckelmann, who admired it in the Barberini Palace at Rome, took it for one of the Muses. He recognised in the statue the lofty style of an earlier period and conjectured that it might be the muse of Ageladas, the teacher of Polycletus and Phidias. He saw in her the "lofty grace" in contrast to the "amiable grace" of the other citharodes, which as a matter of fact also belongs to an earlier period.

But it is Apollo in the long festival robes that were worn by all who competed for the prize by playing the cithara or by singing in the festival of the god. Until the later Greek period Apollo the musician was regularly represented in these long robes to distinguish him from the nude warrior god with the bow. He wears the Doric peplos with a broad overlap, belted below the breast with a wide band. On the shoulders one end of this is fastened and hangs down behind like a short cloak. The sandals with their high soles also belong to the festival costume. The head shows inset eyes,

that are here, as very rarely happens, in fairly good preservation. The whites of the eyes are made of white stone. The dark pupil has fallen out; the lashes were made of thin bronze; remains of them are distinctly visible. The head and neck have been joined to the statue, but by the artist himself. It is by no means even a late antique restoration. The full curly hair is parted and falls in double curls on the breast; bound up over the forehead it increases the majesty of the head.

The execution of the statue, which was found in 1678 in a villa at Tusculum, dates, so far as can be deduced from the style of the work, approximately from the Augustan epoch. But there can be no doubt that it reproduces an old Greek original. It is even possible to name with certainty the school to which the original statue belonged; a comparison with the authenticated works of Phidias, with the Lemnian Athena and the Parthenos, proves that this Apollo was executed in contact with Phidias and represents a direct development of the style of the master. The arrangement of the Doric peplum, too, is such as the master and his circle employed for feminine deities. The original of the statue is reproduced on the coins of Augustus that are connected with the victory at Actium, 31 B.C., and with the Palatine temple then consecrated. As it seems impossible, for reasons of style, to identify our statue with that of Scopas (of the fourth century B.C.) erected in the temple itself, it is probably the second marble statue referred to by Propertius (iii. 29, 5) as standing near the altar, as its pose agrees with that indicated by the poet.

Among all the statues of gods preserved there is scarcely another in such good preservation that gives us so grand a conception as this Apollo, which imparts so completely and unimpaired the impression of a majestic temple figure in the Phidian manner.





PLATE IX



STATUE OF HERA

VATICAN, ROME

## PLATE IX

## STATUE OF HERA

*In the Vatican, Rome*

This over life-size marble statue was found at Rome on the Viminal during excavations instituted by Cardinal Francesco Barberini, and is now in the great rotunda of the Vatican Museum. It is usually called after its first owner the "Barberini Hera." The statue is well preserved; only the arms, which were made and affixed separately, are lost and now restored. But the restorer could scarcely go wrong. The head is admirably preserved and unbroken, except for the nose which is new; the head and part of the bare breast are executed in a separate piece of marble and inserted. The feet also were separately affixed; the left foot is restored. The putting together of large marble figures in several pieces was quite common in ancient times, and a thing in which sculptors were very expert. In this way material was saved and large marble statues could be comparatively cheaply executed.

The statue is a copy, made in Rome in the second century B.C. probably for the palace of a Roman noble, but possibly for a shrine, of a lost Greek original of the period immediately before or during the Peloponnesian war. The work must have become very famous, for it was frequently copied. A particularly good copy, which was found in the ruins of a Roman villa on the Sabine hill, is now in Copenhagen. It is a work of the Augustan period; the diadem that adorns our statue is missing, as it was the custom in early marble work to affix such details separately in metal.

The style of the work, as preserved in the copies, is so

decidedly related to an equally famous Aphrodite, which is preserved in numerous copies, wherein the goddess is represented in a thin ungirded garment, that both works are regarded as the creations of one and the same artist. The Aphrodite probably goes back to Alcamenes, the famous pupil of Phidias, and the Hera is probably the work of this same great artist.

The identification of the goddess as Hera cannot be regarded as certain, as the type is not established in any monument of Hera or Juno; it is nevertheless highly probable, and the name of Hera best explains the general conception as well as the details of the statue.

A sublime figure stands before us, a great and noble goddess, a true queen and ruler. She does not hold her head up in pride, but, gently nodding, promises fulfilment of their wishes to those who approach her piously in prayer.

Like Aphrodite, the goddess of Love, she wears a thin loose under-garment, through which the form of the massive body is visible, and as in her case it slips off one shoulder. But the lower part of the figure is wrapped in a thick heavy cloak, suggestive of stern dignity.

The cloak lies with one end on the left shoulder and is drawn across the back to the right hip and then over to the left, where it is pressed close and held in its place by the left elbow. It hangs in front in a large triangular piece, exactly like that in the Athena of Velletri (Plate VII.). Here, as there, the arrangement imparts something peculiarly majestic to the appearance of the goddess.

The statue also agrees with the Athena in position and carriage. The goddess rests on her left foot, whilst the right is drawn back in the action of walking. In both statues the bare feet are shod with the thick heavy sandals usual with the gods of the Phidian period, and which the Athena Parthenos also wears (Plate VI.). The statues agree,

too, in the pose of the arms and the turn of the head. The raised right hand rests there on the spear, here on the sceptre; the outstretched left bears an attribute, that we cannot fix with any certainty, possibly the vessel for offerings as the restorer has assumed.

The wavy hair, adorned with its diadem, is brushed back, but gathered behind in a scarf exactly as in the Aphrodite referred to above. But the expression of the face is quite different from the yielding, sweetly smiling grace of the goddess of Love; though not without a certain regal gentleness it is earnest and severe.

Thus the statue of the goddess corresponds admirably to the picture of Hera as she appears in myth and poetry, the exalted consort of Zeus, the queen of heaven and guardian of the marriage bond among mortals.

## PLATE X

### STATUE OF ASCLEPIUS

*Marble. National Museum, Naples*

This well-preserved and accurately restored statue,<sup>1</sup> very little above the natural height of a fully grown man, was from the middle of the sixteenth century in the collection of the Roman family Farnese, and when this family died out, at the end of the eighteenth century, it went, together with other famous antiques, to Naples. Its place of discovery is without any certainty assigned to the temple of Aesculapius on the Tiber island in Rome. It is a moderately good copy of a Greek original, most probably the work of an unknown

<sup>1</sup> Apart from lesser restorations, the whole of the right arm together with the snake and staff are new.



artist under the influence of Phidian art,<sup>1</sup> not long after the Parthenon sculptures, and in any case was consecrated in a shrine of the god.

Asclepius, called by Homer<sup>2</sup> simply a doctor, was revered among the Greeks as an oracle and health-giving earth-spirit, and therefore has the serpent as an inseparable attribute. His cult spread to many places with increasing emphasis on his vocation of god of healing, and found a famous centre at Epidaurus in Argolis, later also at Pergamon in Asia Minor. Thither sufferers from far and near made pilgrimage in search of health, and made many and marvellous cures. Introduced from Epidaurus into Rome, Asclepius set out on his course over the whole world.

The standard artistic representation of Asclepius until the late Roman period was embodied in the last decades of the fifth century B.C. by an Attic master in the circle of Phidias, and can be appreciated in the example here reproduced, which is a worthy representative of the innumerable monuments preserved. The divinity of the statue, whose definite outlines are built up in almost architectural regularity, is indicated by its venerable dignity suggestive of a holy statue, by the sacred serpent, and the Omphalos with its net-like covering.<sup>3</sup> For the rest the figure is not exalted above the

<sup>1</sup> The type bears the spiritual imprint of Attic art of this period; it is attributed to Alcamenes, who executed a temple statue of the god at Mantinea about 420 (Pausanias' *Itinerary of Greece*, viii. 9, 1). But at the same time a statue also of Asclepius, whose cult came to Athens in 420 from Epidaurus, was erected at Athens for the sacred district at the southern foot of the Acropolis; the influence of the representations of the god here exhibited is to be observed in the numerous votive reliefs, and possibly would be equally so in statues in the round, although not as yet traceable in the available material.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, iv. 194.

<sup>3</sup> The connection of Asclepius with this attribute usually associated with the Delphic Apollo is not handed down in literature; it would seem, like the serpent, to be a relic of the subterranean deity he was originally held to be. It is also suggested that the Omphalos, as a symbol of the chthonic cult, passed from Apollo to Asclepius,



PLATE X



STATUE OF ASCLEPIUS

MUSEO NAZIONALE, NAPLES



FIG. 12. THE ASCLEPIUS OF MELOS.  
Marble Head in the British Museum, London.

human, but advances as a man in the prime of life, whose broad build is particularly noticeable in the bare breast, the picture of robust health. His clothing is that of a Greek citizen. The Himation is draped in simple folds and broad flat surfaces, and only at the two ends which hang over the left arm more elaborately arranged. The feet stand firmly in thick-soled sandals. The left arm which is hidden in the Himation rests on the hip, the right lies on the heavy staff; this rests in the armpit at the top, while round its lower end the serpent is entwined. Asclepius is conceived as the ever-ready doctor, hurrying from one patient to another, who, though pausing for a moment in an attitude of rest, is still active in thought. For his head, with its rich beard

and abundance of curly hair, which add greatly to the dignity of his appearance, is lightly turned to one side; the broad prominent forehead, the thoughtful far-seeing glance, the gentle fatherly features (“τὸ μελίχιον, πρᾶον,” mildness, gentleness), show us the character of the ripe experienced doctor in its noblest aspect. This expression of the head and the collective dignity of the whole, even without emphasising external attributes, raise the representation above the human. The combination of homely simplicity and god-like sublimity, which to-day still has the effect of inspiring confidence, must in ancient times have consoled the suffering and awakened hope in the hearts of the faithful worshippers at the shrine. In the aspect of this noble figure one recalls and understands the manifold names by which Asclepius was known among the ancients; names expressive not so much of religious awe as the touching child-like trust of humanity in the god of healing. The eminently poetical description, “χάρμα μέγ’ ἀνθρώποισι, κακῶν θελκτῆρ’ ὀδυνάων” (“great bliss for mankind, the subduer of sore pains”<sup>1</sup>) and “τέκτονα νωδυνίας ἄμερον γυιαρκέος . . ., ἥρωα παντοδαπᾶν ἀλκτῆρα νούσω” (“the gentle restorer of painless strength of limb, the hero, who overcomes manifold ills”<sup>2</sup>), and many other descriptions have found expression in the artistic representations of Asclepius, as again the words, “the gentlest of the gods and the kindest to men,”<sup>3</sup> “θεῶν ὀπρᾶτατός τε καὶ φιλανθρωπότατος.”

It is interesting to watch the changes in the conception and representation of the gods as illustrated by Asclepius. Through the influence of moderns like Scopas the figures from the middle of the fourth century B.C. became more lively, the pathetically animated face expressed inward excitement;

<sup>1</sup> Hymn to Asclepius, *Homeric Hymns*, xvi. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Pindar, *Pythian Odes*, iii. 6 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Aelius Aristides, 18: εἰς τὸ φρέαρ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ (“At the fountain of Asclepius”). (*Dindorf*, i. 409.)



the influence of Praxiteles often had a similar effect.<sup>1</sup> This altered art is very noticeable in the case of Asclepius in his ideal character of healer. What in the restrained solemn seriousness of the fifth-century Olympians we feel rather than see is here given full expression. The doctor formerly so still is now in lively action, the head turned to one side with an upward glance. The large head from the island of Melos (fig. 12), the identification of which is confirmed by its discovery in a district where the Asclepian cult was practised, should be restored in a similar position after the statuette discovered at Epidaurus and completed to a great statue; it is a Greek original of the last decades of the fourth century, a sublime head, with its abundant curly hair and beard, its eyes full of yearning and thoughts of healing, gazing dreamily into space. All that is gentle and hopeful, all the sympathy and kindness of the physician, which is also suggested in the half-opened mouth and slightly drooping underlip, could scarcely find stronger or nobler expression. A peculiar magic shines in the face, involuntarily radiating consolation to the sick and weak. "The eye full of chaste purity and gentle benevolence, in which there beams an unspeakable depth of nobility and moral worth, bespeaks the character of the god." "Πάναγνον καὶ ἱλεων ἀνακινῶν ὄμμα, βάθος ἀφραστον ἵπαστράπτει σεμνότητος αἰδοῖ μιγείσης" (Callistratus, Descriptions of Statues, 10). This characteristic finds full expression in the Asclepius of Melos.

<sup>1</sup> See text to the Demeter of Cnidus (Plate XXII.).

## PLATE XI

## DIOSCURUS FROM THE MONTE CAVALLO, ROME

This plate shows one of the two most forcible and best preserved figures that antiquity has bequeathed to us. Side views are shown in figs. 13 and 14. The companion figure is in similar action but reversed. They are the Dioscuri leading their plunging steeds by the bridle, after whom the place on the Quirinal at Rome, where they stand, has been called the "Monte Cavallo" since the middle ages. They are mentioned in the tenth century as "cavalli marmorei." They are among the few antiques that have never been covered up. Until 1589 they stood on a huge antique pediment and it was generally assumed that they formed part of the decoration of the halls and gardens of the great *Thermae* of Constantine, the remains of which were preserved in this vicinity until the sixteenth century. On the marble blocks of the pediment stood in monumental letters the inscription, obviously contemporary with the pediment and therefore belonging to the Constantine epoch: "Opus Fidiaei" under the statue reproduced on Plate XI., "Opus Praxitelis" under the other. As in later Roman times frequently happened, fragments of older architecture were built into the pediment. The statues themselves were much older than these inscriptions which from their position are probably of the time of Constantine and at any rate, from the use of F instead of Ph, not much earlier. From their execution the statues could scarcely be later than the early days of the empire.

In 1589 Sixtus V. replaced this antique erection by a new one that in essentials still remains. The colossal figures were set

PLATE XI



DIOSCURUS FROM MONTE CAVALLO

ROMI



up side by side on two new separate bases and the damaged parts restored. The inscriptions were replaced by new copies. Lastly, in 1786, the obelisk from the mausoleum of Augustus was put up between the somewhat widely separated statues, and in 1818 a large fountain was introduced. A long time before, perhaps before Sixtus V., there was a fountain in front of them.

Apart from the fact that centuries of exposure have corroded the surface of the marble, the statues are admirably preserved and only unessential parts are restored. The largest modern piece is the chest with the fore-legs of the horse reproduced on Plate XI.

The inscriptions belong to a class with several other descriptions of famous works or their copies found on Roman pediments, as *opus Polycliti*, *opus Praxitelis*, *opus Bryaxidis*, and others, which mostly date from the second century A.D. and present an authentic document concerning the originators of the statues that once stood on the bases. Our inscriptions, even if only put up at the later erection, probably replaced similar and older ones; for the re-erection of the statues, after the destruction of the building to which they belonged, only followed because they bore the names of great artists. At any rate we have no reasonable ground for discrediting these inscriptions. We would only be justified in so doing if it were impossible for reasons of style to accept the statues as what the inscriptions call them—as works, that is copies of works, of a Praxiteles or a Phidias. This is not only not the case, but, on the contrary, apart from the inscriptions, we must ascribe the statues from their style as necessarily belonging to the circle of Phidias.

Now there was an older Praxiteles—probably the grandfather of the famous later bearer of the name—who was a younger contemporary of Phidias. The names of the inscriptions are therefore not in disagreement with the style of the





FIG. 13. DIOSCURUS FROM MONTE CAVALLO.

statues. Of course there remains the possibility that the names were arbitrarily affixed in later times, as simply the names of the two most famous sculptors. The circumstance that they are two such ancient and celebrated names will always give probability to this assumption.

But, whatever may be decided about the names, the analysis of the style remains unaffected. The characteristics of style speak their own clear decided language. Here is no trace of "Eclecticism," here the style is pure Phidian.

What the critical eye of the sculptor Canova has already recognised, that there were no works in Rome that approached the particular greatness of the Parthenon



FIG. 14. DIOSCURUS FROM MONTE CAVALLO.

sculptures so nearly as these colossal figures, is supported by an exact comparison. It is true we have not the originals before us, only Roman copies; the lost originals were doubtless of bronze and without the clumsy supports which are necessary in the marble; and are to be seen here under the horse, and beside the advanced leg of the youth in the form of a coat of mail. The style corresponds, in the whole and in detail, to that of the frieze and the pediments of the Parthenon. Particularly characteristic is the formation of the horse and the whole action of the youth who holds it, which correspond exactly to figures in the relief on the base of the Athena Parthenos and in the Parthenon frieze;



FIG. 15. HEAD OF ONE OF THE DIOSCURI.  
From Monte Cavallo.

no less characteristic is the conventional treatment of the torso and the heads to which the Attic riders of the same frieze are nearly related.<sup>1</sup>

The inspired, fiery swing, that permeates the whole group, obtains its highest expression in the splendid heads (fig. 15). The hair floats back in the wind and surrounds the head like rays, while the wide-open eyes sparkle with divine fire. They are the fair sons of Zeus, the *Δίосκοροι* who wrestle

<sup>1</sup> This bold and brilliant assumption has been doubted, and the original has been dated in a period after Alexander the Great, though the striking resemblance in the treatment of the youths and the horses to the Parthenon and Phidias is conceded; in this respect a comparison with Plate XVII. and with figs. 17 and 18 is instructive.

with their shining white steeds, the *πωλων δματῆρες* (Alcman), the *λευκοπῳλοι* (Pindar), the *ἵπποισι μαρμαίροντε* (Euripides).

The raised hand held the bridle, the lowered hand a spear. Presumably, as a hole in either head indicates, gilt stars were there affixed; for stars are the most frequent symbols of the Dioscuri. The absence of the egg-shaped caps, the *piloi*, is due to the fact that this attribute of the Dioscuri was unknown at the time of the originals; it was not general until after the time of Alexander.

In their original position the four figures, the horses and their masters, were not arranged as now in two separate right angles, but in a row before a flat wall. The space between the two groups was perhaps occupied by a fountain. For "as after heavy labour they refresh themselves and their steeds at the spring, so they share this balm graciously with others. As water-bringers they were worshipped and pictorially represented by the Hellenes in early times."

## PLATE XII

### NIKE OF PAIONIOS

#### *Olympia*

Before the east front of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, in the midst of a crowd of other statues, but towering above them all, stood on a triangular base the statue of the descending Niké which was found in a battered condition during the German excavations. It is here reproduced from the restoration by Grüttner. The statue is of Parian marble and was obtained in December 1875 in its most important parts, to which several widely scattered fragments were added later. Unfortunately the face has not been found; but

a substitute has been found in a Roman copy of the head discovered at Rome, which bespeaks the ancient fame of the original. The statue measured about 2.90 metres to the tips of the wings, but with the triangular tapering base the whole must have reached the height of nearly 12 metres.

One of the blocks of the base bears the following inscription: "Μεσσανιοι καὶ Ναυπάκτιοι ἀνέθεν Διὶ, Ὀλυμπίῳ δεκάταν ἀπὸ τῶν πολέμιων. Παιώνιος ἑποίησε Μενδαῖος καὶ τὰ κρωτήρια ποιῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐνίκῃ." "The Messenians and the Naupacti dedicated (this statue) to Olympian Zeus as a tithe of the (spoils from) the enemy. Paionios of Mende made it, who also triumphed when he made the acroteria of the temple." According to Pausanias (v. 26, 1) the Messenians connected the monument with their success at Sphacteria, 425 B.C., in which Messenian auxiliaries took an active part. Pausanias himself was thinking of the events related by him, iv. 25, about 455 B.C., when the Naupacti captured the Acarnanian town of Oeniadae, which they soon had to give up again. Both are mere conjectures, not reliable records; neither is defensible. The only time that fits the form of the inscription and the historical circumstances is that directly after the Peace of Nicaea (421 B.C.), and the statue refers to the several victorious battles which the Messenians and the Naupacti went through during the Archidamian war. The erection of the towering statue directly in front of the temple of Zeus was at the same time a strong demonstration against the domination of Sparta in Olympia, which is only explicable at a time when Sparta had fallen out with Elis, as in 420, when Elis was in league with Argos and Athens; even at that time attempts were made to induce the Messenian emigrants of Naupactus to return to their homeland.

Only with this date is the style of the statue to be reconciled. It points, indeed, almost with certainty to that period. The nearest analogies in style are certain acroterial groups





NIKE OF PAIONIOS

OLYMPIA

*From the restoration by Richard Guttner, Berlin.*



on a temple at Delos erected at this time, and the sculptures of the Nereids monument at Xanthus. About or before the middle of the fifth century, as our knowledge of the history of art enables us to say with certainty, such characteristic treatment of the drapery, which clings to the body and reveals the form clearly through it as it flutters freely in the wind, was quite impossible. For this a longer development was necessary, which we can trace in the datable monuments preserved.

The acroteros on the temple of Zeus, with which Paionios boasts in the inscription that he triumphed—clearly in a competition—were not, as has been assumed, the statues of the eastern pediment wrongly attributed by Pausanias to Paionios, but the gilt Nikés on the coping of the temple, that resembled in motive the marble statue dedicated by the Messenians. These Nikés (Pausanias mentions, v. 10, 4, only one over the east side, but we may presume a similar one in the west) seem to have been erected at the same time as that of the Messenians.

Paionios came from the town of Mende on the Thracian coast. But in the manner of his art he also belongs to the Ionic group. He has extraordinary facility in the technique of marble sculpture. It enables him to give full expression to the boldness of his fancy.

Coming down from heaven, hovering in the air—so he has conceived the Niké, and he has actually succeeded in rendering this. Indeed it might almost be said that in the plastic art of all times and all peoples there is no human figure that gives such an illusion of floating and flying, that seems as if it had been done from nature. Leaning lightly forward, the left leg slightly advanced, the arms outspread, the wings raised, she floats down. Her head is bent and, like the whole body, turned a little to her right, so that the left wing is raised a little. She comes through the air, and under her

feet flies the eagle with outspread pinions, like her, the goddess of Victory, also a messenger of Olympian Zeus.

The marble mass under her feet and drapery, out of which the eagle appears, is intended for sky and would be appropriately painted. The heavy mantle and the wings give the necessary balance to the forward-leaning attitude of the figure. The sculptor has with great dexterity avoided almost any supports and made use of the fluttering drapery. The goddess is dressed in the Doric peplum, bound with a girdle ; it is in an unusual manner open on both sides and consists of two separate halves. The left leg, owing to the disarrangement of the drapery, is quite bare. The modelling is effectively relieved by the fluttering and distended garments. The hair is done up and for the most part hidden in broad bands. Under the breast a bronze girdle is to be understood. In the view from below for which the statue was designed it appears much more slender and more natural in action than in the view from the same level here reproduced.

This wonderful creation was reproduced in antique times in numerous free copies, but we know none among them that equals the beauty of this work.

### III

## OTHER SCULPTURE OF THE FIFTH CENTURY

WHILE the most important masterpieces of ancient plastic art, the principal temple and votive statues, are if not altogether at any rate for the most part only preserved in copies, we possess many and valuable originals of sculpture that served decorative ends, particularly reliefs from graves and shrines.

The finest of all the dedicatory reliefs from shrines preserved is that shown on Plate XIII., a relief that, although flat in treatment, can in its size and the care shown in its execution almost replace lost statues. The style belongs to the circle of Phidias. In the older manner of these reliefs, only the gods to whom it is dedicated are represented. Later it was the custom to introduce the donor and sometimes his whole family in small figures at the side.

Also of the school of Phidias, though rather later than the above, is the Orpheus relief (Plate XIV.), which was perhaps originally also in a shrine, although it represents not gods but an incident from epic poetry.

These two reliefs, which are limited to three figures, give an excellent idea of the quiet lofty style that distinguished the religious compositions of Phidian art.

Though not a relief, something similar is the mask of Medusa (Plate XV.) of which the original was dedicated in a temple and hung up on the wall.

Among decorative sculptures the remains of the marble decorations of the Parthenon take the first place. A large



number of metopes have been preserved which present in high relief principally combats with centaurs. The rhythmic action and varied motives of these manifold scenes are powerfully arresting, notable too is the passionate expression of the faces. Quieter in effect and of higher artistic importance are the reliefs of the frieze representing the procession of the Panathenaea, of which Plates XVI. and XVII. and figs. 16-18 are examples. But the finest of all were the statues of the two pediments, of which only a few have come down to us and these in a mutilated condition. Plates XVIII. and XIX. give four of the best of these statues. The eastern pediment to which they belonged represented the birth or the first appearance of Athena among the Olympian gods; the western pediment showed the strife of Athena and Poseidon over the Attic country. These figures were executed immediately before the Peloponnesian war and exhibit in comparison with the copies of the Athena Parthenos and Lemnia an already marked development of the Phidian style. A comparison of the older Athena figures with the statue of a maiden from the Erechtheum (Plate XX.) shows how the drapery became thinner and lighter in treatment, till it clings, as if damp, to the figure. This statue also belongs to the domain of decorative sculpture, as it was used as a support.

## PLATE XIII

### THE ELEUSINIAN DEITIES

*Relief of Pentelican marble, National Museum, Athens*

Of all the monuments of the strictly religious art of the Greeks the greatest, finest, and the best preserved is that discovered in 1859 at the building of a school in the old shrine

PLATE XIII



THE ELEUSINIAN DEITIES. MARBLE RELIEF

NATIONAL MUSEUM, ATHENS



of the great goddesses at Eleusis. It is now at Athens and has become famous as the "Eleusinian relief."

Three slightly over life-size figures are modelled in somewhat low relief on one massive block. The panel is complete; it has above and below a projecting rim; the lower serves as a ledge for the figures to stand on, the upper as a decorative finish. There is no frame to the sides. This simplicity is peculiar to the older period. The form of the panel is precisely similar to that which was the rule in the fifth century for the customary small dedicatory reliefs. Only in later times was it the custom to add column-like frames at the sides.

The panel must have been put up in a shrine like other votive tablets. The small light dedicatory tablets of the ancient simple cult were usually hung up. The heavier marble panels were either affixed to a detached pillar, or simply leant against the wall, more frequently that of a niche. The Eleusinian relief, which is only an enlarged votive tablet, must be thought of as displayed in the latter manner.

According to the most probable interpretation we have here the boy Triptolemus as he is sent out by the two great goddesses of Eleusis, Demeter and Core, with the harvest of the earth, the ear of corn, and the task of spreading the knowledge of agriculture in the world. But it differs essentially from the traditional representations of this subject. This is to be explained on purely artistic grounds, as the chariot in which Triptolemus usually drives would have disturbed the severely simple composition, which is limited to three quietly standing figures.

The boy is in the act of receiving something from the goddess on the left, who supports herself on a sceptre. Probably it was a sheaf of corn, emphasised in the original by means of painting. The other goddess, against whose left shoulder leans a long torch, lays her right hand on the

boy's head. There is a hole in the boy's forehead for fastening some metallic object, perhaps a wreath which the goddess is placing on his head.

There is no doubt that the two women are Demeter and Core; but which is the mother and which the daughter is not certain. It is probable that in ancient times, according to the then prevailing custom, a painted inscription over the figures definitely indicated their significance. As there is no fixed type to refer to among the monuments of the fifth century to mark the difference between Demeter and Core we cannot name them with any certainty. The fact that one bears a sceptre, the other a torch, that one is giving him corn, the other apparently a wreath, is not sufficient to distinguish them. These attributes are common to both goddesses, as they are also equally concerned in the sending forth of Triptolemus. It would seem from the sceptre and the attitude of Triptolemus towards her that the figure on the left is of higher rank, and has therefore been thought to be Demeter. But these features also fit Persephone, the holy one, the queen (ἀγνή, ἀγανή, δεσποίνα, ἀνάσσα). On the other hand, the artist has made obvious differences in the arrangement of the draperies and of the hair of the two figures, as also in their carriage though not in the treatment of the form. The goddess on the right wears the soft thin Ionic linen chiton with sleeves and a cloak. This was, at the time of the execution of the relief, an older fashion in Athens, which at that very time began to be supplanted by the sleeveless woollen Doric peplum. This latter is worn by the other goddess, girt at the waist and with a long overlap whose ends are brought over the shoulder from the back. This fashion was at that time particularly favoured by the young girls of Athens. Among the goddesses it is the Parthenos, Athena the Maiden, who is the first to wear it. The young maidens who support the hall of the Erechtheum,



the *κόραι*, are represented in the same costume. This seems to point to the figure on the left of our Eleusinian relief as that of Core. It is true that Demeter was also represented in this attire in the second half of the fifth century; but here, where a difference is obviously intended, the costume will be used to indicate Core.

The hair of this goddess on the left falls loosely and without ornament on her neck; the hair of the other is gathered up. If a difference between mother and daughter is to be indicated, there can scarcely be any doubt that the loosely hanging hair belongs to the daughter, and that done up on the head to the mother. For it is explicitly recorded, at any rate in later times, that unmarried maidens wore their hair loose, while wives wore it done up.<sup>1</sup> Monuments show us that this was not always the case; but where as here a difference of age is to be indicated by the manner of wearing the hair it can only be interpreted in this sense.

The difference in the bearing of the two goddesses accords well with the assumption that it is Core on the left and Demeter on the right. The stern austere bearing is appropriate to the august maiden, the ruler of the Underworld, as the milder, gentler nature to the motherly Demeter.<sup>2</sup>

The boy Triptolemus stands between the two, quite resigned to what the goddesses propose to do with him. He is wearing a long cloak which lies on his right shoulder, of which he holds one end in his left hand. His hair is combed forward and knotted over his forehead. This fashion for boys' hair was very popular in the first half of the fifth century B.C.

The relief is in the Attic style of the Phidian period. By

<sup>1</sup> Callimachus, hymn in Cer. v. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Recently it has been generally assumed that the goddess on the left is the mother, she on the right the sister of Triptolemus. The circumstance that the former holds the corn is most appropriate for Demeter Carpophorus, and the type of figure and drapery is also used for her.

means of a careful comparison with datable sculpture it is possible to fix the date between 450 and 440; it is probably a little older than the frieze of the Parthenon. Spirit and execution correspond entirely with what we know of Phidian art, to which we may unhesitatingly attribute this admirable work.

The religious art of Phidias showed all this concentration on a big effect, which was attained by avoiding any unessential disturbing details and by the quiet peace, the solemn pious earnestness of the figures and their restrained movements.

## PLATE XIV

### ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE

#### *Marble relief in the Museo Nazionale, Naples*

This relief of unknown origin in the National Museum at Naples is executed in Pentelican marble and is a good copy in the Augustan period of a lost Attic relief, which was the work of a master of the Phidian school in the last decades of the fifth century. There are other copies of this relief extant, but the example from Naples here reproduced is the best. It has the advantage of antique name inscriptions, which stand in intentionally old-fashioned style above the heads of the figures. In the case of Orpheus, the letters are to be read from right to left, as this figure faces in the reverse direction to the other two. But without the inscriptions there would be no doubt as to the identity of the figures.

Orpheus has succeeded by the power of his singing and playing in touching the hearts of the usually inexorable gods of the underworld; his beloved bride Eurydice has been given back to him. But he forgets the commandment that he

PLATE XIV



ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE. MARBLE RELIEF

MUSEO NAZIONALE. NAPLES



shall not look at her on the way. Thus the relief shows them to us; Orpheus has turned towards his beloved; he sees her and they gaze in one another's eyes; they have met again. She lays her hand on her husband's shoulder to make sure that she has him again. But at the same time Hermes, the Death-bringer, seizes the right hand of Eurydice, to lead her again into the shades: those who one moment are united in love, the next are parted by a quiet but inexorable force.

Orpheus is characterised as singer by the lyre which he holds in his left hand, as Thracian by the high boots that reach to the knee and by the fox-skin cap, *άλωπεκῆ*, on his head. He wears besides a chiton of Greek fashion and a chlamys which is knotted on the right shoulder and enwraps the left arm and hand. The face of Orpheus is a modern restoration, also his right hand. The latter, as other replicas show, was in a similar position; the gesture accompanies the words he is about to speak. According to another theory he is about to clasp the hand of his wife, or has removed her veil in order to gaze on the face of his long-sought love. This psychologically and artistically appropriate action is shown in the replica in the Louvre, where his left hand has hold of her scarf.

Eurydice wears the Doric peplum in the manner that was customary in Athens at the time of Phidias. This garment is girt and forms a fullness below the waist; the overlap of the dress reaches to this same fullness. She has thrown a veil over her head, which falls on her shoulders. The complete profile view of the left foot indicates that she was in the act of walking towards the right and now pauses; the different position of the feet in Orpheus shows that he has turned round.

Hermes as a god is distinguished by a slightly taller figure. He also pauses in his stride towards the right. He wears, as is usual in older art, a chiton and over it a chlamys knotted



on the right shoulder. The chiton is bound with a broad strap under which it forms a slight fullness. On the neck of Hermes hangs his broad-brimmed travelling hat, the Petasus, suspended on a band round his neck (which is not shown). The projecting rim of the Petasus is a modern restoration. His curly hair is cut short as was the case with all athletic youths. On his feet he wears sandals; another replica (in the Louvre) gives him boots. In an amiable, almost a bashful manner, his right hand clasps the chiton. The whole appearance of the god is quiet and modest. He is acting on a high command, and carries it out as gently as possible.

The still, large features of the heads, the fine folds of the drapery, and the convention of the whole are in the manner of the frieze of the Parthenon and related works of the period about 430 B.C.

But the most admirable thing about this narrow panel is the expression of so much depth of emotion and such fullness of action with so little movement in the figures and total absence of detailed facial expression. Such a creation was only possible in the time of Phidias. The composition is perfect; the smallest detail could not be altered without destroying the effect of the whole.

The destination of the original at Athens is not certain. But at least it was not a mere decoration as has been thought; for such were not in existence at that time. It is quite possible that the relief had a religious significance; it corresponds in form and size with the old votive reliefs; it was an independent panel finished off with a moulding at the top and hung on a pillar or set up in a niche. A recent conjecture is that it was dedicated by a victorious choregos as a thank-offering, and represents the subject of the tragedy with which the singer won the competition. There were once two similar panels, one of them perhaps the





MEDUSA. MARBLE MASK

Peliades relief, which were united with this in a trilogy to celebrate some victory on the great Dionysus at Athens; the three were built into a temple-like building near the theatre in the street of the Tripod, where to-day, though robbed of its tripod, the graceful Lysicrates statue stands. At any rate, in the telling "ethos" that runs through the whole treatment is embodied the clear nobility of Attic tragedy, particularly that of Sophocles.

The beauty of the composition tempted artistic Romans to have many copies of this relief made, and this of Naples is one of them.

## PLATE XV

### MEDUSA

#### *Marble mask in the Glyptothek, Munich*

This famous mask was at one time in the Rondanini Palace at Rome, where Goethe admired it. It is usually called the Medusa Rondanini. It is a faithful Roman copy of the Augustan period of a lost Greek original, most probably of bronze. There are many replicas, that is other copies of the same original, preserved, which are of importance in fixing the style of the prototype. These replicas were perhaps hung up as ἀποτρόπαια (images to ward off evil) at the entrances of Roman buildings. In the well executed example from Munich here reproduced only unimportant parts of the snakes and the hair and the extreme tip of the nose are restored. The mask is executed by itself; it was doubtless intended to be hung up on a wall. But it never stood, as has been falsely conjectured, in a definite connection with an architectural scheme; it was not an architectural feature, but an individual work, a votive gift in a shrine.

Medusa appears in beautiful human form, not in the antique manner grotesquely distorted. Nevertheless the artist has used the characteristic wings and the two snakes that twist round the head and form a knot under the chin. He has also given her wide open eyes and ruffled hair. But most of the expression is in the mouth, which is unusually large and slightly open, the upper teeth being visible.

It was formerly believed that the Medusa was here dying; Goethe thought he saw in this mask "the agonised stare of Death." It was a mistake. It was foreign to the whole range of works to which the Medusa Rondanini historically belongs to attempt or wish to represent Death or dying. They only aimed at expressing in fine human form, as the older types expressed by crude distortion, the force and power of the demonic creature, at whose aspect the blood of mortals congealed in their veins, who turned them to stone. This the artist has admirably succeeded in conveying by the appearance of shuddering coldness which he has given the face, by the large, open mouth, the heavy chin, and the eyes set wide apart and staring fixedly.

The strictly symmetrical design also increases the demoniacal effect. The evenly balanced outspread wings form a horizontal mass which has a gloomy oppressive effect on the whole. The lines converge in the manner of an isosceles triangle and meet where the terrible expression of the whole is concentrated in the half-opened mouth.

The mask was formerly placed in the late Greek period, but wrongly; for the style points with certainty to an original towards the end of the fifth century. He must have been a great artist who made it. Certain features in the treatment of the forms suggest that the mask is the work of Cresilas, to whom we owe the Pericles (Plate L.) and probably also the Athena Velletri (Plate VII.).







RELIEFS FROM THE FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON  
ACROPOLIS MUSEUM, ATHENS, AND BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON

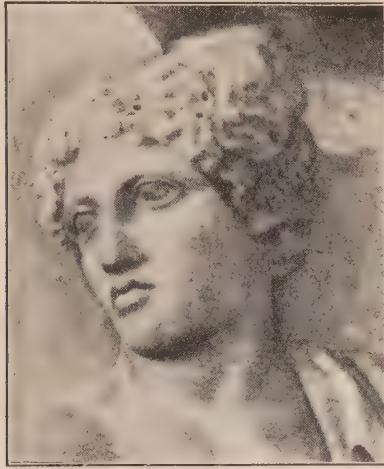


FIG. 16. HEAD OF "APOLLO."

## PLATES XVI. AND XVII

## RELIEFS FROM THE FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON

*Pentelican Marble*

*Group of Gods from the eastern frieze from the Acropolis Museum at Athens. Horseman with prancing horse from the western frieze, still on the Temple. Group of horsemen from the northern frieze in the British Museum, London*

Around the outer wall of the cella of the Parthenon there ran a frieze nearly 160 metres long and one metre high, of which the greater part has been preserved since 1816 in the British Museum. It represents the solemn presentation in the great Panathenaea of the festival garment, the so-called peplum, to Athena—which according to the artist's conception took place in the presence of the Olympian gods—and the

procession of the inhabitants of the town on this occasion. The examples here given of the group of gods and the procession, together with the figures on Plates XVIII. and XIX. from the eastern pediment of the Parthenon, are clear evidence of the perfection to which Attic art attained in the time of Phidias. Ever since they have become known the Parthenon sculptures have been extolled by the greatest artists as a revelation of the highest point reached by Greek art, or indeed human art at any time. In their artistic conception, their technical perfection and triumphal union of realism and idealism they will rank as a standard for all times of the aims and limitations of plastic art. And they will contribute to the refinement of artistic taste and thereby exercise a beneficent influence on our modern art movements.

Of the gods here reproduced Poseidon is certain. The central figure is probably Apollo and the female figure is supposed to be either Artemis or, on account of her proximity to Aphrodite, Peitho; finally Dione, the mother of the Goddess of Love, has been suggested, as also in Plate XVIII. from the eastern pediment. Even separated from the rest of the assembly of the gods this group is in the highest degree artistically interesting. What is so attractive about these figures, though there is nothing above the human in their external forms, is a certain sublimity and celestial beauty, the embodiment of the unconstrained intercourse of the Homeric gods, the perfection of form, especially in the nude parts, and above all the wonderful variety and play of folds in the drapery that in its rhythmic and harmonious effect makes an impression of nature itself. In detail the eye is drawn to the beautiful figure of the youthful Apollo, who in graceful ease turns towards Poseidon: he is the picture of strong robust health, and in his noble and graceful pose and the voluptuous beauty of feature (fig. 16) and curly hair he is admired as the fairset ornament of this assembly

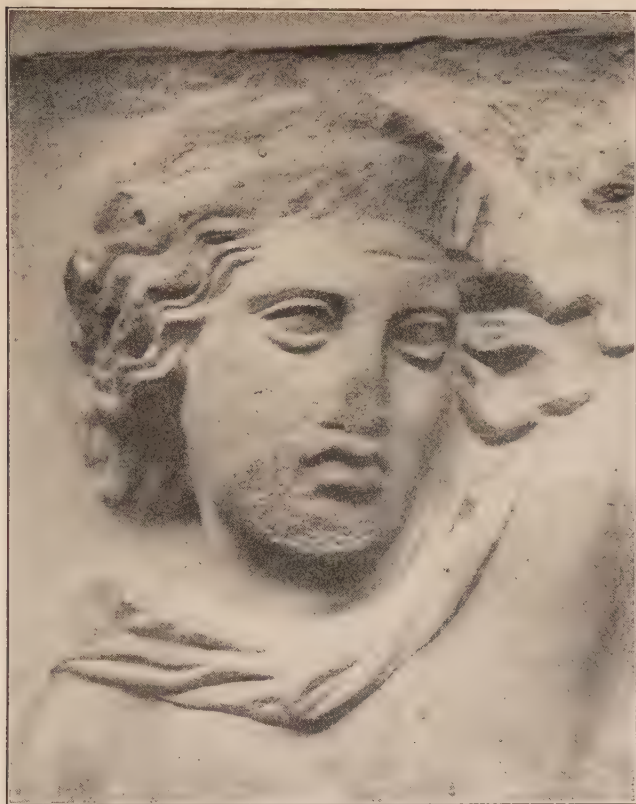


FIG. 17. HEAD OF A YOUTH.

From the Western Frieze of the Parthenon. Marble. British Museum, London.

of the gods.<sup>1</sup> The bearded Poseidon<sup>2</sup> sits there stern and serious, almost a little stiff, turning, like Artemis, towards the approaching procession. The latter is a strong youthful figure, richly dressed: over the chiton she wears on the lower part of her figure a cloak and her hair is almost entirely

<sup>1</sup> The left hand probably held a sprig of laurel; the hair, as is evident from the holes visible in fig. 16, was adorned with a metal wreath.

<sup>2</sup> His left hand held in all probability the trident and his hair was decorated with a band.



hidden in a coif. The goddess probably held a flower in the daintily raised right hand. By means of contrast in the pose and action of the three figures the artist has happily avoided any disturbing uniformity in the whole and lent a new charm to the harmony of the picture.

The gods sit awaiting the procession of the Attic people, which in the variety and arrangement of its contents and its excellence in the smallest details is considered by all artists and connoisseurs a masterpiece of frieze decoration in relief. Above all, the inexhaustible abundance of motive and action in the troops of horsemen,<sup>1</sup> which can be appreciated in the examples here given, has always excited admiration. They form a picture of Athenian<sup>2</sup> youth in all its pride and joy of horsemanship, and a tribute to the horse breeding of the *εὐίππος χώρα* (the land famous for the breed of its horses), as Attica was called by Sophocles,<sup>3</sup> and to the skill of their masters. The slim active figures of these variously attired horsemen sit with a firm grip of the thigh and easy action of the body on fiery steeds which are only kept in check by the exercise of great skill. The horses are remarkably small with thick necks and short manes.<sup>4</sup> Horse and rider even now awaken the interest and unlimited praise of the expert in matters equine. The pose and attitudes of the three in our Plate XVI., a fairly well preserved group, for the most part explain themselves; the youth on the left is busied with the reins, his head bent forward in a certain solemn earnestness as with both hands he puts matters straight. Both this and the middle figure have an air of modesty and good breeding. But the pearl of the group is the horseman who accompanies the capers of his unruly horse with a bold move-

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon's writings "On the art of riding" and on "The duties of a colonel of horse" are interesting in this connection.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 15; Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, vi. 12, 15, 16, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Oedipus on Colonos*, 668. Cf. also 708.

<sup>4</sup> See Plate XVII.



RELIEF FROM THE FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON

STILL ON THE TEMPLE





FIG. 18. UPPER PART OF HORSEMAN WITH PRANCING HORSE.  
From a contemporary cast.

ment of his right arm and at the same time checks him by tugging at the reins with his left. The successful treatment of the three-quarter back view of the body is a remarkable achievement of relief sculpture. This is surpassed, however, by the relief on Plate XVII. where a single horseman with his steed occupies the whole panel; this is one of the finest panels in the whole frieze and attracts immediate attention on account of its striking qualities, particularly as it enlarges and modifies the general conception of Phidian art. For in the place of noble idealism we have here vigorous realism and drama (cf. also fig. 17). Behind is the troop in readiness,

though not yet drawn up in order. The man is in the act of mounting from the right, his left foot on a stone beside the road while his right hand holds the bridle fast; at this the thoroughbred plunges and springs high in the air, trying to avoid the unwelcome burden. Only one of the horse's hoofs touches the ground. At this moment the master draws back involuntarily and seizes the loosely hanging left rein and giving it a sharp upward pull<sup>1</sup> obtains for the moment the best possible control over his horse. The excellent artist must have observed this actual situation either on the racecourse or perhaps in his studio with the model and reproduced it here as a proof of his skill. In the horse, in which every crease and vein is expressed, it is the noble and life-like head that first seizes our attention; the body is, for artistic reasons, small in proportion to nature in order to bring the two figures into closer pictorial relationship. We can form an idea of the head of this bearded horseman, which is unfortunately destroyed in the original, in a plaster cast preserved from early times (fig. 18). He wears the Thracian fox-skin cap (*see* Plate XIV.) which became fashionable in Athens about this time. The chiton, fastened only on the left shoulder, has slipped down in the violence of the action, and the cloak with its pleated border is fluttering in the wind and increases the appearance of stress and struggle; together with the tail of the horse it happily fills the remaining space. The aspect of the angry excited face brings the scene vividly home to us; with a loud shout, the horseman strives to hold back this unruly animal. Excellent as is this part of the frieze the eye involuntarily turns to the contemplation of the whole, to appreciate the magnificent effect of the entire picture. The two plates, XVI. and XVII., in the contrast of their conception are well calculated to preserve the memory of this long and varied procession of horsemen. Of course

<sup>1</sup> Left arm only faintly visible.



the full effect could only be obtained with the gay colouring and all the metal accessories, of which we can only have a faint idea. But even without these things, the reliefs are a source of the highest artistic delight. One never tires of studying the changeful motives, the figures of the riders and their horses, the expression of the faces of the bright spirited Athenian youths, and the fiery animated heads of the animals and the spectacle of the whole. The freshness and naturalness, the glamour of reality, transport the beholder into the midst of the Panathenaic festival, where the solemn procession makes its pilgrimage to the Temple of Athena Parthenos.

## PLATE XVIII

### GROUP OF FEMALE STATUES FROM THE EASTERN PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON

*British Museum, London*

This group in Pentelican marble is from the right-hand corner of the eastern pediment of the Parthenon on the Acropolis at Athens. Since 1816 it has been in the possession of the British Museum in London. The figures have been called Hestia, Demeter, Persephone; Amphitrite, Thalassa Rhode, Perse, Circe; Clotho, Lachesis, Atropos; Aglauros, Herse, Pandrosos; Thallo, Carpo; the Graces; Peitho and Aphrodite, and finally personifications of clouds. They are generally known as the Three Fates.

Their heads are missing and their arms are mutilated; yet of all the relics of the Parthenon these figures are the most admired on account of the masterly technique, the extreme beauty of the modelling, almost surpassing Nature herself, and the wonderful execution of the well preserved drapery.

They form a compact group of three figures. The figure on the right is a particularly masterful presentation of ripe womanly beauty. The figure on the left was quite close to the two others with the body facing the spectator (thus turned a little more towards the right than in the illustration); the head on the other hand was turned towards the left, towards the centre of the pediment; it was still preserved in 1674. As a drawing of that date shows, the middle figure rested her elbow on the left knee of the left-hand figure. This middle figure drew her cloak over her back with her raised right hand; her left arm is round her companion who rests on her lap. Both looked in the direction of the corner of the pediment; the head of the reclining figure was in position in 1674. The left hand of this figure was raised and held loosely a bronze attribute in the form of a staff, as is shown by a hole in the drapery on the left hip.

The three women recline on rocky ground; they all wear the thin Ionic linen chiton with wide knotted sleeves, falling in fine folds. Round the lower part of their bodies they have wound cloaks of heavy woollen material. Beneath the reclining figure and her companion a piece of rough cloth is spread over the rock.

On their right in the pediment was Selene or Nyx, the goddess of Night, about to vanish with her team of four horses to Oceanus.

This group undoubtedly presents a trinity of goddesses. The commonly accepted interpretation that they are the three daughters of Cecrops fulfills this condition; it is, however, untenable, because the scene of the eastern pediment, the birth of Athena, does not take place on the hill of Athena, the seat of these daughters of Cecrops, but on Olympus, encircled by the sun and moon and surrounded by Oceanus. They are the three Moirae, the daughters of the Night,<sup>1</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, *Theogony*, 217.

PLATE XVIII



GROUP OF FEMALE FIGURES FROM THE EASTERN PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON

BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON



here in the pediment turned towards the descending goddess of Night. The Fates were always supposed to be present at a birth;<sup>1</sup> they decide the future of the new-born child and must not fail even at the birth of the heavenly Athena. Their cult was connected with the Athena Polias on the Acropolis.<sup>2</sup>

The Fates were always conceived as spinning; they were called *κλωθες* (spinsters) in the Homeric poems.<sup>3</sup> The missing bronze attribute of the reclining figure was without doubt the distaff, and her right hand, which one sees from the position of the arm was not idle, drew the thread.

The Moirae were not conceived as old or ugly; indeed in Athens Aphrodite, goddess of Beauty, was accounted the eldest of the Moirae; in poetry they were called *εὐώλενοι κοῦραι Νυκτός* ("the fair-armed daughters of Night").<sup>4</sup> The artist of the eastern pediment has made them winsomely beautiful.

These figures are the most perfect examples of draped statues that Phidian art has bequeathed to us.

(The figure on the left has recently been separated from the others, and on the assumption that the Olympian gods must all be present at the birth of Athena, preference has been given to the interpretation of the other two figures as Aphrodite resting in the lap of Peitho or of her mother Dione; the constant and zealous helper of the goddess of Love, the goddess of Persuasion, was honoured with her in a common cult. The explanation of the third figure remains in this case as uncertain as ever; she has been called Hestia, the personification of the Hearth.)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for example, Pindar, *Olymp.* vi. 42; x. 52; *Isthm.* vi. 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Corpus inscriptionum Atticarum*, i. 93.

<sup>3</sup> *Odyssey*, 197.

<sup>4</sup> Bergk, *poetae lyriici Graeci III.*, fragmenta adespota, 140.



## PLATE XIX

RECLINING MALE FIGURE FROM THE EASTERN PEDIMENT  
OF THE PARTHENON*British Museum, London*

This statue of Pentelican marble was originally near the left-hand corner of the eastern pediment of the Parthenon. Since 1816 it has been in the British Museum in London. It has been called Heracles, Theseus, Iacchus, Dionysos, Pan, Cephalus, Cecrops, and Olympus; but it is best known under the name of "Theseus."

Although hands and feet are missing and the head badly damaged this figure is the best preserved of all the statues of the pediments. It represents a naked youth reclining on rocky ground, on which he has spread the skin of some wild animal and over this his own garment. A hole in the left ankle indicates that some sort of bronze footgear was there affixed. The left arm rests on the rock and supports the the upper part of the body. The left hand held a bronze attribute as is shown by the patina that washed by the rain has left its mark on the floor of the pediment. The head is covered with short smooth hair; on the right-hand side of the head (not visible in our illustration) the hair is still fairly well preserved. There is a deep hole in the crown and from there to the back of the head a roughly carved mark. This proceeds from the fastening and fixing of the statue in the frame. Those who think they see signs of plaits on the neck of the youth are mistaken; the hair is short and smooth like that of the athletes; according to some the impress of the "taenia" (band) is visible.

The fluent outlines of this statue in the round are admirable, the body is powerful, steeled in athletic exercise, and the



PLATE XIX



RECLINING MALE FIGURE FROM THE EASTERN PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON

BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON

head with its forehead projecting below is typical of the athletes and vigorous youthful heroes. Strength at rest is here represented; if the figure were upright we should have a perfect picture of manly strength and beauty.

The position of the figure in the pediment was slightly more round than in our reproduction, so that the roughly faced surface of stone below the left arm was at right angles to the wall of the pediment. The waters of Oceanus reached right up to the feet of this figure; out of the marble waves, Helios the sun god and his four horses rose up. This group filled the left-hand corner of the pediment. The youth seems to greet the rising Helios with his raised right hand.

The subject of the pediment was the birth of Athena, a subject particularly dear to the Athenians; the goddess stood fully grown opposite her father Zeus on his throne. The gods are gathered round in astonishment. On either side flow the quiet waters of Oceanus, which surround the world into which Athena is born; out of these waters rise and in them sink the heavenly bodies Helios and Selene at either end of the pediment.

The interpretation of this figure that is most in accordance with the facts and the circumstances of his appearance is that he is Cephalus, the handsome hunter who was carried off by Eos to Oceanus. The lost attribute in his left hand was a spear which leant against his shoulder.

The pediments of the Parthenon were completed shortly before the Peloponnesian war. The youth in this illustration is the best evidence we have of the mastery attained by Attic art under the influence of Phidias in the treatment of the undraped male figure.

(As in the case of the so-called Fates (Plate XVIII.) the youth on the panther skin is also identified as an Olympian god, as Dionysos, for whom the graceful easy pose is most appropriate.)

## PLATE XX

STATUE OF A MAIDEN FROM THE ERECTHEUM AT ATHENS

*Pentelican marble. British Museum, London*

This rather badly damaged statue, about 2.30 metres high, has become famous under the false name of Caryatid,<sup>1</sup> a name already in use in antique times for similar figures, although merely and indefinitely inscribed<sup>2</sup> as κόρη ("maiden"). It was brought to London by Lord Elgin at the beginning of the nineteenth century from the Acropolis at Athens, where with five others it stood on a high wall and supported the architrave of the south-west hall of the shrine of Athena Polias, usually called the Erechtheum<sup>3</sup> after a room in the same; it was replaced by a terra-cotta copy. This part of the temple, generally known as the Portico of the Maidens, was, according to information relating to the date of the Erechtheum itself, already for the most part complete in 413 B.C. The architectural purpose of the figure is indicated by the round pad on the head, the simple capital with its decoration of egg and dart and bead and reel, and finally by the abacus. The architrave with its triple moulding finishes without a frieze, the cornice with dentils.

A beautiful and strongly built Attic maiden stands before us, employed in the service of her goddess, like the Attic maidens in the procession of the Panathenaea in the frieze of the Parthenon, who carry all kinds of vessels on their heads for the festival offerings. She appears clothed to the feet in the peplum, which, leaving the neck and arms bare, and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vitruvius, *de Architectura*, I. i. 5; the explanation there given has not an atom of probability.

<sup>2</sup> *Corpus inscriptionum Atticarum*, i. 322.

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias' *Itinerary of Greece*, i. 26, 5.



gathered at the girdle hangs down in a wide curve on either side. She is adorned with an abundance of close-curved hair. This is arranged in several only partly visible plaits, and comes forward over the shoulders in two long strands in front, while behind it ends in a long switch that hangs free down the back. The figure is straight and upright in harmony with its architectural purpose, though the advance of the left leg gives a slight action without disturbing the feeling of rest and the regularity of the whole. The arms were pressed close against the body, the left hand lightly held the overlap of the peplos. The drapery, which is arranged in long straight folds and in the part drawn over the girdle in rich variety, though it almost completely shrouds the figure, yet permits the form to show clearly through it. The full broad face shows the true Attic features, bright and vivacious, though sternly serious in expression as befits its relation to the architecture. The figure has been taken from the building for which it was intended as an excellent example of Attic art of the fifth century, an invaluable work from the hand of an unknown artist not greatly removed from the style and time of Phidias. But the figure could only be properly appreciated in its place under the bright sky of Athens, where the nobility and simplicity of the Erechtheum was admired even beside the magnificent Parthenon itself. For we have here the combination of sculpture and architecture, the pillar represented by a human figure<sup>1</sup> without contravening the laws of architecture and without interfering with the representation of a human being. The maidens fulfill their appointed task without losing their personality; they bear the weight lightly and yet firmly, they stand in their decided outlines and full forms as quiet

<sup>1</sup> A similar form has been traced in archaic art; for in the successful French excavations at Delphi female figures in this form have come to light that are thought to be supports from the Treasury of the Cnidians, and thus belong to the sixth century B.C.

and steady as if they were pillars, but breathe with youthful life, and this is carried on in the vivacious decorations of the Ionic capital and is not in any degree disturbed by the lightly resting abacus. On this account they have been admired and praised, ever since they became widely known, as representative of the pure Greek antique; and from antique times till now have been introduced in buildings, have been copied and imitated, but never approached. A comparison with these examples of later art and craft only serves to set the originals in a better light.



STATUE OF A MAIDEN FROM THE ERECHTHEUM, ATHENS

BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON



## IV

### FOURTH-CENTURY SCULPTURE

IN the fourth century it is again the Attic artists to whom we owe the further development of the types of the gods. In this period they lose in unapproachable majesty but gain in human and intimate qualities. The artists no longer seek to represent divine and sublime qualities from the point of view of the pious worshipper, but rather by entering into the spirit of the deity to bring out the human side. The gods are now occupied with themselves and have their own emotions, whereas formerly they merely showed themselves gravely to the worshippers.

An admirable example is the Ares (Plate XXIII.), attributed by many to Scopas, the great contemporary of Praxiteles, but without any certain foundation. It is with more justification regarded as a work containing characteristics of Scopas and Lysippus. The god is conceived as sunk in himself, oblivious of his pious worshippers; passion and unrest stir within him and are expressed in his agitated far-away look and in the restless clasping of his knee. Similarly Demeter (Plate XXII.), who is so unlike the older representations of the enthroned and dignified goddess. She, too, is not concerned with the world outside, but is entirely given up to her own thoughts and feelings. There is ground for considering this statue to have been executed in direct relation to the school of Scopas.

Less depth of emotion, little spiritual animation, but a bright fresh grace is the feature of the work of Praxiteles,



the second great master of this period. His Hermes (Plate XXIV.), of which we are so fortunate as to possess the original, is an excellent example of this; the whole group and particularly the head of Hermes is full of delightful grace. This work is at the same time technically very characteristic; it gives extraordinary effects of the marble which were quite unknown to an earlier time. The wonderful delicacy of the chiselling in the face, particularly round the eye, the reproduction of the texture of the skin, and then the bold execution of the curly hair in sharp contrast to the smooth skin—these are effects that Praxiteles could wrest from the marble. Of his Cnidian Aphrodite unfortunately we have only copies (Plate XXV.) that at the most give only an approximate idea of the charm of the original. Here is a triumph in the human treatment of the deity. The idea of the goddess preparing for the bath—so opposed to the conceptions of the gods of the former period—became very popular in the period following that of Praxiteles and constantly varied. A precious original that for a long time was almost generally considered the work of Praxiteles is the so-called Eubuleus from Eleusis (Plate XXVI.), that unites the gentle grace with the melancholy gravity of the god of the Underworld; certainly the interpretation as Triptolemus is open to question. In this also we can admire ancient marble technique at its best.

The Irene of Cephisodotus (Plate XXI.), an elder relative of Praxiteles, is characteristic of the beginning of the fourth century; it shows in pose and drapery a strong tendency to revert to the Phidian manner, and yet is quite different from the older works. After the collapse of the brilliant Attic kingdom at the end of the Peloponnesian war the new movement in art began somewhat modestly, turning from the extravagances of the preceding epoch to older, simpler, and more truthful forms on which to ground a new





IRENE WITH THE INFANT PLUTUS

GLYPTOTHEK, MUNICH

style. The perfection of the new style of drapery is shown in the Demeter (Plate XXII.).

Beside Praxiteles and Scopas worked many another artist of distinction. The type of the Zeus shown in the head from Otricoli (Plate XXVII.) originated probably in the school of Lysippus and Attic masters. It is possible that the sublime Apollo (Plate XXVIII.) is the work of Leochares. It is, in contrast to the long-robed Citharodes (Plate VIII.), a fine example of the other conception of the god, the unclothed youth with bow and arrow. The hastening Artemis (Plate XXIX.) might be of the school of Praxiteles or his successor or some other Attic school. The muse Melpomene (Plate XXX.) also shows evidences of a Praxitelean origin. The far-reaching tradition shows itself in the Hellenistic period, where the treatment of the body is softer, the features of the face delicately blended, but the action often bolder. A product of this tendency and development of the Praxitelean spirit is the Hypnos (Plate XXXI.) which is not uninfluenced by other congenial masters in the style of Scopas. The hunter and dog (Plate XXXII.) is a brilliant example of the ideal of manly beauty of the latter.

## PLATE XXI

### IRENE WITH THE INFANT PLUTUS

*Glyptothek, Munich*

This statue of Pentelican marble was formerly in the Villa Albani at Rome, and was probably discovered in the neighbourhood of Rome. Carried off by Napoleon, after a short stay in Paris, it arrived in the Glyptothek at Munich. It was formerly interpreted as Ino Leucothea with the infant

Dionysos. Later on it was recognised as the copy of a statue at Athens by the artist Cephisodotus, which represented the goddess of Peace, Irene, with the infant Plutus, the demon of the kingdom, on her arm.<sup>1</sup> This group was probably dedicated in Athens in 374 after the brilliant victories over the Peloponnesians and the strengthening of the hegemony over the sea states, and erected about 371 or 370 on the occasion of a peace congress; the important offerings to the goddess of Peace on behalf of the state were annually laid before this statue.<sup>2</sup>

The goddess stands majestically on the left leg, the right set a little to one side. Her raised right hand rested on a long sceptre (the right arm of the statue is a modern restoration). On her left arm she carries the little boy who stretches his right hand towards her (restored, but correctly), holding in his left hand a cornucopia, a symbol of the prosperity of the kingdom. The restorer has wrongly put a vase in his left hand. The introduction of the cornucopia is supported by copies of the group preserved on Athenian coins and also by a better preserved reproduction of the boy in Athens. Nor is the head of the boy correct; it is antique, but belongs to another figure, probably an Eros. In the above-mentioned copy in Athens and one in Dresden the original head is preserved.

The goddess of Peace is thoughtfully represented as the nurse of Riches. Like a mother she bends over the boy on her arm, and he turns tenderly to her. The soft full hair of the goddess is brushed away from the forehead over a diadem. This is only visible in front in the middle. At the back the hair falls in rich curls. She is dressed in the Doric peplos of woollen material arranged as it was worn in Athens in the fifth century. She wears a girdle, but the

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias' *Itinerary of Greece*, ix. 16, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Isocrates, xv. 109. Cornelius Nepos, *Timotheus*, ii.





PLATE XXII



DEMEIER OF CNIDUS

BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON

drapery falls over it, so that a fullness runs across the lower part of the body. The ends of the robe are fastened on the shoulder and the material overlaps both before and behind. The style of the treatment of the drapery follows in its principal features the models of Phidias, but differs in one or two small features which indicate renewed study of nature. This style of drapery is characteristic of the beginning of the fourth century, in which the style of the time of the Peloponnesian war was deserted for an older, less mannered style, for models that were nearer nature. The treatment of the head of Irene with its mild, gentle, almost dreamy air, distinctly indicates the period to which the original statue belonged, the period in which Praxiteles began his activity.

For it appears that Cephisodotus was an older contemporary of the famous Praxiteles, to whom he was probably nearly related. That he was the latter's father, as is nowadays generally accepted, is possible, but not at all certain.

The original of the group was probably in bronze. The copy preserved to us (in marble) was executed approximately in the Augustan period.

## PLATE XXII

### DEMETER OF CNIDUS

*British Museum, London*

One of the most beautiful statues that have been preserved, a Greek original not only of the time but actually of the artistic circle of the great masters of the fourth century, Scopas and Praxiteles, is the seated Demeter of Cnidus, that was discovered in 1858 and brought to the British Museum.

The statue was not in a temple, but in an open "Temenos," that is a consecrated enclosed space, at Cnidus. This temenos

was a platform before a precipitous wall of rock. On the three remaining sides it was surrounded by a wall. A niche in the rocky wall at the back seems to have been the place in which the statue was originally placed. Inscriptions that have been found show that the temenos was dedicated to the gods of the lower world and to Demeter and Persephone in particular. Unfortunately no inscription belonging to the statue itself has been found.

But there can be no doubt that this goddess of gentle, motherly mien represents, not Persephone, but the mother Demeter herself.

In Greek art maternal deities were generally represented seated, suggesting their quiet nature. The full drapery and the veil at the back of the head that we observe in this statue are features that characterise the mother-goddess from ancient times. Demeter wears a fine Ionic linen chiton, that is only visible below over the feet and on the upper part of the right arm; over this a cloak of fine woollen material is wrapped. The cloak covers the back of the head and enwraps the entire body in close folds. According to custom it is drawn through under the right arm so that this has free play of movement. The end of the cloak is thrown over the left shoulder.

Unfortunately both fore-arms are missing. Without doubt the hands held something, but there is no trace or clue as to what it was. The knee and the whole of the right leg are also badly damaged. On the other hand the head (fig. 19) is, except for the nose, admirably preserved. As can be distinctly seen in the illustration, it is together with the neck inserted in the torso. It is made of fine white Parian marble, the grain of which is visible even in the photograph. The body is executed in a coarser blue-greyish marble. This practice was often employed in the best time of Greek sculpture. If it was not possible to make the entire statue



FIG. 19. HEAD OF DEMETER OF CNIDUS, restored.

of fine expensive marble, they used it for the head and executed the rest in inferior material. This was of course only successful in the case of draped figures, where the drapery helped to hide the join.

The drapery is broken up into innumerable small folds, which cross each other in all directions. This style of drapery is quite characteristic of the fourth century B.C. The artist does not aim at a big simple effect, but tries to emulate the rich wealth of nature by the observation of small accidental details of form.



The hair of the goddess is, as beseems a mother, plainly and simply arranged. It is parted in the middle and combed towards either side. Natural curls fall down the neck on to the breast.

The sculptor has—and this is the important feature of the statue—identified himself with the goddess, has entered into her inmost self. He has not pictured a distant, unapproachable being, removed from human passions. He has given her a soul. And this again is characteristic of the statues of gods of the fourth century. Although enthroned, the attitude of the goddess is no longer solemn and unmoved. The left foot is drawn sharply back and the eyes look upward and a little to one side; this goddess does not look down in majesty on the approaching worshippers, she is occupied with her own thoughts. In the treatment of the eyes and the mouth the sculptor has been able to give to the face an expression of a certain yearning melancholy. It is Demeter the mother, whose daughter Persephone was stolen away.

About the middle of the fourth century several of the first artists in Athens were fetched to the coast of Asia Minor, particularly for the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus and the new Temple at Ephesus. These also worked at that time in Cnidus. The artistic character of the Demeter corresponds very closely to the movement that, as far as we know, was introduced by Scopas; the statue is probably the work of an artist very near to Scopas, who at the same time shows the influence of Praxiteles.





ARES LUDOVISI  
NATIONAL MUSEUM, ROME

## PLATE XXIII

## THE ARES LUDOVISI

*Marble. Museo Nazionale, Rome*

This well-preserved and correctly restored<sup>1</sup> statue was discovered on the site of the ancient Campus Martius between the present palazzi of Santa Croce and Campitelli, where the Theatre dedicated in 13 B.C. and the contemporary Crypt of Balbus were situated. It was in the possession of the Ludovisi family as far back as the seventeenth century, and it is from the Villa Ludovisi that it takes its name. Next to the so-called Ares Borghese in the Louvre it is the most famous representation of the war god; it is a good Roman copy of a Greek original of which the fragments of several copies are preserved. Its relation to the seated Ares of Scopas,<sup>2</sup> whose art is recalled to many by the pathos of the head, is in the absence of definite information about this work not demonstrable. It is probably the work of some sculptor still under the influence of Scopas, but with a leaning towards Lysippus. Nor can it be decided with certainty whether the attributes, sometimes not quite happily introduced, shield, helmet, and greaves, and also the Eros, which indicates the relation, emphasised in Hellenistic and Augustan times, of Ares to Aphrodite, were additions of the

<sup>1</sup> Apart from smaller restorations almost entirely new are, in the Ares—the right hand, the sword hilt, and the right foot; in the Eros—the head, the left arm with the quiver, the right fore-arm and the bow, and the right foot. The marks of some attachment on and below the left shoulder of Ares have not been satisfactorily explained; a second Eros has been suggested and a group with Aphrodite standing beside the god. The height of the sitting figure is 1.56 metres.

<sup>2</sup> This colossal marble statue was in the temple of Mars at Rome built by Brutus Callaecus, the conqueror of the Lusitanians and the Gallaeci (Consul 138 B.C.), near the Circus Flaminius (Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 36, 26).

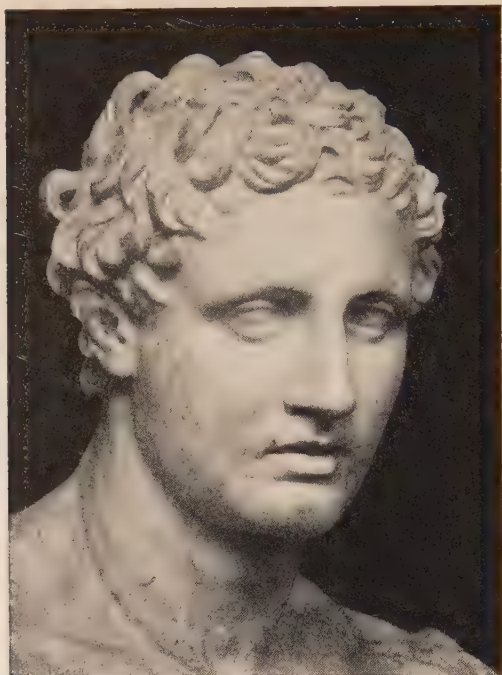


FIG. 20. HEAD OF THE ARES LUDOVISI.

Roman copyist. At any rate the effect of the figure with its flow of line and rhythmic action of the limbs is better and more uniform without these accessories. The physical and spiritual character of the god of War is quite clearly expressed without the sword that was presumably held in the left hand of the original, and the rest of the warlike attributes. With his body leaning forward in an easy attitude, Ares sits on a rock, his hands clasped round his raised left leg. The chlamys has fallen away and shows a well-covered but nevertheless active body trained in athletic exercise, the broad chest and massive arms<sup>1</sup> show the mighty strength of the god, the long and slender limbs tell of his unequalled

- " . . . ὕπ' Ἄρης παλαμάων " (" the arms of Ares "), Homer, *Iliad*, iii. 128.



speed of foot.<sup>1</sup> So that in spite of its quiet pose the statue gives the impression of restless activity, and you feel that the war god may spring up at any moment to join in the turmoil of battle as “βροτολοιγός, θούρος Ἀρης” (“man destroying, impetuous Ares”).

This impression of the whole figure is strengthened and supported by the expression of the lowered head, that looked apart from the statue (fig. 20) still stirs the imagination of the beholder. Whereas the aspect of many of the seated or enthroned gods fills us with a sort of pious awe, here, if we study the psychology of this youthful head with its luxuriously curling hair, our eyes and thoughts are seized with a personal interest in the war god. Parted from the joyous circle of the Olympian gods, Ares gazes dreamily into space, not without a touch of melancholy and discontent, stirred with passion and tormented with unrest, a stormy, unruly, warlike character:

“Αἰεὶ γάρ τοι ἔρις τε φίλη πόλεμοί τε μάχαι τε  
μητρὸς τοι μένος ἐστὶν ἀσχετον, οὐκ ἐπεικτόν  
Ἕρης.”<sup>2</sup>

The figure of Ares as he is clearly pictured in the Homeric poetry is embodied in this glorious statue.

<sup>1</sup> “ . . . Ἀρηα  
ώκύτατόν περ ἔόντα θεῶν, οἳ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσιν.”  
 (“ . . . Ares,

Who in speed outvies the immortals on Olympus.”)

Homer, *Odyssey*, viii. 330.

<sup>2</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, v. 891.

(“ Always hast thou loved only brawls and battles and making of war!  
Like thy mother in insolence and unbearable stubbornness,  
Hera.”)

## PLATE XXIV

HEAD OF HERMES FROM THE GROUP OF HERMES AND THE  
INFANT DIONYSOS

*By Praxiteles. Over life-size. Parian marble. Olympia*

The knowledge of the existence of many works of Praxiteles in Roman copies has made us aware of the importance of this Attic sculptor in marble so highly praised by early writers, and of our great loss in the originals. So that it is easy to understand the loud-voiced joy of connoisseurs, which was soon shared by the whole of the civilised world, in the discovery of the group here reproduced (fig. 21). It came to light on the 8th of May 1877 during the excavations undertaken at the expense of the German government at Olympia, and is on the whole well preserved.<sup>1</sup> It was discovered in the cella of the Temple of Hera on Olympia without any inscription either of the artist or in dedication, but it can be identified on account of peculiarities of style and of the description of Pausanias<sup>2</sup> as the group by Praxiteles there situated. It was probably removed from another part of Olympia or some other spot at some later uncertain date and placed in this shrine, as the base found with the group belongs to a later period and is therefore not the original. The original situation of this masterpiece cannot be determined in the absence of literary evidence. The interpretation of the subject on the other hand offers no difficulty. The messenger of the gods, Hermes, has been charged by

<sup>1</sup> The left hand held once a caduceus in gilt bronze, the raised right probably a bunch of grapes. The lower legs and left foot of Hermes are restored, also the arm of the child.

<sup>2</sup> *Itinerary of Greece*, v. 17, 3.



HEAD OF THE HERMES OF PRAXITELES

OLYMPIA



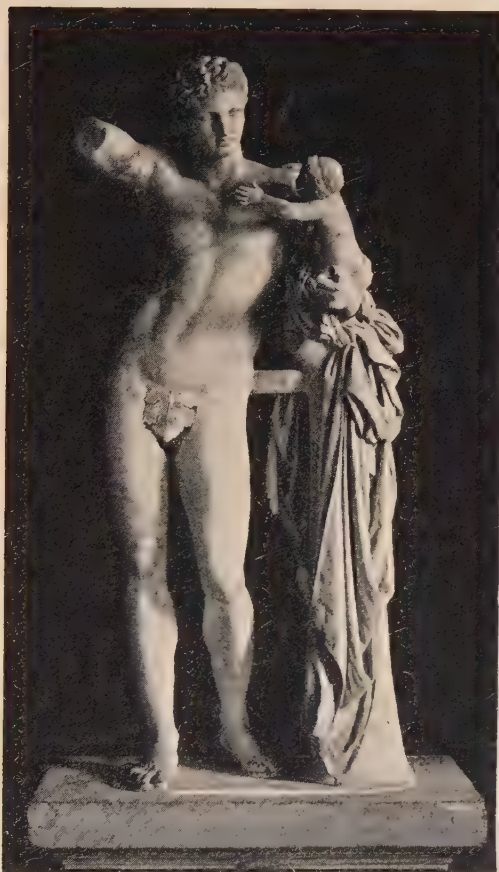


FIG. 21. STATUE OF HERMES, Olympia.

Zeus to take his little brother Dionysos to Nysa in Boeotia to be nursed and brought up by the nymphs; he is resting on his way thither, and has drawn off his chlamys,<sup>1</sup> which almost entirely covers the stump of a tree on which he rests his elbow. The little boy he holds in his arms clasps the shoulder of his protector with his right hand, and stretches

<sup>1</sup> This piece of drapery is a source of never-ending delight to connoisseurs, particularly among sculptors themselves. It should be examined apart from



out his left towards some object held by Hermes; it has been suggested with great probability that this was, appropriately to the future god of Wine, a bunch of grapes. This statue gives a plastic embodiment of Hermes, as he is celebrated by the Greek poets, the ever-ready, active, and zealous messenger of the gods,<sup>1</sup> the representative of youthful beauty<sup>2</sup> and strength. He appears here a noble, strongly built youth of a serene and friendly disposition. But even more admired than the whole group with its rhythmic action and harmonious lines is the head<sup>3</sup> of Hermes, that has been separately cast and widely circulated in reproductions. Whether it is the technical mastery in the treatment of the marble and the care and finish in the execution, or the simplicity and sublimity of the conception that most strikes us, we must equally regard this achievement of Praxiteles as of the highest level of artistic creation. The head is slightly lowered, the eye is not directed immediately towards the child, but gazes dreamily and thoughtfully into space. If we examine the formation of the head we notice the rounding of the skull with its clear and definite contour and the marked narrowing of the face towards the chin, distinguishing features of the style of Praxiteles. If we turn to details, the artist's fine feeling for form is exhibited

the statue and in comparison with the Parthenon sculptures Plates XVI.-XIX., particularly Plate XVIII. It is a triumph of art and naturalism. Praxiteles must have tried every fold and crease in the actual material. As a result of this study he has evolved a masterful example of rhythmically varied yet harmonious drapery, executed with an air of consummate ease. It is an instructive model of drapery, and plaster casts of it should be in every academy and studio. The support between the figure and the tree-trunk is necessary for constructive purposes. It also helps to unite the two parts of the group.

<sup>1</sup> "Θεὸν ταχὺς ἄγγελος" ("the swift messenger of the gods"). (Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 85.) Homer's epithet, *διάκτορος* (the conductor), gives a clearer indication of his abilities in this respect.

<sup>2</sup> *Ἐναγώνιος* (literally "belonging to a contest") is his name as god of the games and the palaestra.

<sup>3</sup> The dark stains visible in the reproduction are from chalk deposits which have formed on the marble underground.

in the freely handled hair<sup>1</sup> which with its marked divisions effectively relieves the smoothness of the face, the forehead projecting strongly below, the slightly curved line of the nose, the modelling of the cheeks, the serious yet friendly character of the small half-opened mouth, and finally the rounding of the chin with its dimple. But in the head as a whole it is the inspired spiritual expression of the face that irresistibly captivates the beholder. Of course the impression will vary according to the artistic taste and susceptibility of the individual, and we should not lay too much stress on our own personal feelings here. But undoubtedly the aspect of this perfect work fills every beholder, not so much with loud enthusiasm as with a joyous exalted feeling, which is the highest and noblest aim of creative art. And he who has been privileged to gaze on the original in the quiet museum at Olympia will not be likely to forget that sacred moment of human happiness. Yet we can only have a faint notion of the original with all its gay colouring and metal ornaments and the varnished tone of the marble.

## PLATE XXV

## MARBLE HEAD OF APHRODITE

*After Praxiteles. Somewhat over life-size. Berlin, Kaufmann collection*

In antique times what was considered the most beautiful statue on earth and the most famous work of the Attic sculptor Praxiteles was a nude Aphrodite entering the bath, which was executed in shining Parian marble and erected in

<sup>1</sup> This was most probably adorned at one time with a wreath of metal, as the furrow in the marble, visible in the reproduction, would seem to show.



FIG. 22. HEAD OF A GIRL OF THE SCHOOL OF PRAXITELES.  
From a restoration in plaster. Greek original (marble) in Glyptothek, Munich.

a small temple by the sea at Cnidus.<sup>1</sup> The estimation of this work, which had long been evinced by its representation on Cnidian coins of the Roman Empire, and to which the older writers <sup>2</sup> bear witness, has been borne out by the preservation of numerous copies. The head, which already in antique times was regarded as the most artistically perfect

<sup>1</sup> Thus Horace invokes (*Carmina*, i. 30, 1) Venus as "regina Cnidi" ("Queen of Cnidus").

Pliny the Elder bears witness to the wealth of this seaport town in marble works of Attic masters of the fourth century B.C. (*Naturalis Historia*, 36, 22), and the statue of Demeter reproduced on Plate XXII. of this edition gives an example.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 36, 20 (cf. also 34, 69). Pausanias' *Itinerary of Greece*, i. 1, 3. Lucian, *Imagines*, iv. Pseudolucian, *Amores*, xiii.



PLATE XXV



HEAD OF THE CNIDIAN APHRODITE

KAUFMANN COLLECTION, BERLIN



part of the statue and particularly admired by the refined connoisseur Lucian,<sup>1</sup> can be appreciated in the well-preserved copy here reproduced, a capable work by a Greek artist. This head enables us to understand the extravagant praise accorded in antique times to the original, and even in this reflection of the masterwork to appreciate the peculiar delicacy of the Praxitelean treatment of hard and brittle marble.

The goddess of Love, whose appearance and qualities have been characterised ever since the Homeric poetry by the epithets “καλή, φιλομειδής” (“fair, sweetly smiling”), is represented by a figure of a young and blooming woman. Her head rests on a full rounded neck, turned a little to one side, her small narrow eyes gaze dreamily into space. Her hair, arranged in even strands and divided in three by a double band, partially covers her ears and temples, and is gathered in a knot behind. The details of the oval face have been rendered with a fine appreciation of form. The triangular forehead, the delicate line of the brows, the rounding of the chin, the fine modelling of the cheeks and the nose, but above all the delicately formed mouth, round which a slight smile is playing, are features of the art of Praxiteles that appear in other heads attributed to him or to his school, but in none in such a harmonious combination of grace and dignity (cf. also fig. 22). Whereas in the older Aphrodites more stress was laid on the representation of ripe womanhood, we have here the virginal charm of a young maiden, which in spite of the occasional expression of sensuousness of later times, has remained the standard until the present day. Its sublime simplicity and the strong and shining figure of Hermes will always exercise a powerful charm on every sensitive eye, so that the only doubt that troubles the beholder is which of the two deserves the highest prize.

<sup>1</sup> *Imagines*, vi.; cf. also Pseudolucian, *Op. cit.*, 13.

## PLATE XXVI

## MARBLE BUST FROM ELEUSIS

*National Museum, Athens*

This splendid head of a youth was discovered in 1885 at Eleusis in a small shrine of Pluto, situated in front of a dark gloomy grotto near the Propylaea of the great Eleusinian shrine. At the same time dedicatory inscriptions to an old couple merely called "god" and "goddess" and to Eubuleus were found. This Eubuleus was an independent figure in the Eleusinian belief and not in any way identical with any other god. His name, meaning the "good counsellor" or "well-wisher," is one of those names given to the powers of the underworld in awe and fear, and expresses the wish that the earth demon will only show himself as a bringer of blessings. In the cult of Eubuleus a young pig was buried in the earth. Thence legend made him a swineherd, whose herds vanished into the earth when Core was carried off. And in order to connect him more closely with the great Eleusinian deities, the local legend made him a brother to Triptolemus or son of Demeter; he was therefore conceived as a youth. The youthful curly-headed Eubuleus, sometimes with the pig and the bundle of twigs of his mystic cult, is to be found on many monuments connected with the Eleusinian cult.

The conditions of its discovery make it possible to recognise the head here reproduced as this same Eubuleus. The hair falling symmetrically on the forehead is characteristic of the gods of the underworld.

The head must have been famous. In the Eleusinian shrine itself were found two replicas, both inferior later

PLATE XXVI



MARBLE BUST FROM ELEUSIS

NATIONAL MUSEUM, ATHENS



repetitions. The head was also imitated by copyists of the Roman period in Italy; there are several such copies in Italian museums that were formerly thought to be portraits of Vergil.

The wonderful execution of the Eleusinian head, that bespeaks the master hand in every feature, leaves no doubt that we have here the famous original itself from which the copies were made. The artist must have had a reputation or the work would not have been repeated. The style points to the Praxitelean circle; indeed no nearer parallel to the technique in the execution of the hair and the flesh can be found than the Hermes (Plate XXIV.), that, as Pausanias bears witness, is the work of Praxiteles.

Now we know from the inscription of a herm in the Vatican Museum at Rome, the head of which is unfortunately lost, that the copyist there represented an "Eubuleus of Praxiteles;" the inscription of the herm, *Εὐβουλεύς Πραξιτέλους*, is composed exactly as those of two other Roman copies, *Γανυμήδης Λεωχάρους* and *Ἡρακλῆς Εὐφράνορος*. The Eubuleus of Praxiteles must have been in Eleusis at one time, as we know of no other cult of Eubuleus without an additional name. And the artist Praxiteles was, of course, the famous sculptor after whose works the Roman copyists so frequently worked, and not some other unknown person.

Thus many things point to the identification of the Eleusinian head with the lost, afterwards much copied, original of Praxiteles. It is possible, of course, that the herm with the inscription in the Vatican, which is headless, might have represented another type of the "good counsellor" by Praxiteles—that of the bearded god of the earth. So that the connection of the Eleusinian head with the artist, or at least with his school, rests almost entirely on the style, and even the style does not point exclusively to the great Attic master himself. The frequently proposed interpretation



as Triptolemus is well worthy of consideration, particularly as he appears like this in an Eleusinian relief from the middle of the fourth century B.C. It is true our head expresses in a wonderfully complete manner the mixture of gentle kindness and gloomy seriousness that were characteristic of Eubuleus, the god of the Underworld. On his breast the chiton is suggested, which the earth gods usually wore.

It is thought that the head did not belong to a statue, neither was it on a herm, nor was it in the form of the hollow busts which were not introduced until much later in Rome. It was cut through the breast like the busts of the early Renaissance. Classical Greek art was also familiar with this form. The head was perhaps set up in an aedícula on a tray into which it was let in. A relief from Eleusis shows a bust of Eubuleus set up in this way; it is true this head belongs from the arrangement of the hair to the time of Flavius, and could be equally appropriately called Triptolemus or Iacchus.

In spite of the mutilation of the nose and the brows, the head here reproduced is one of the finest antique originals that we possess.

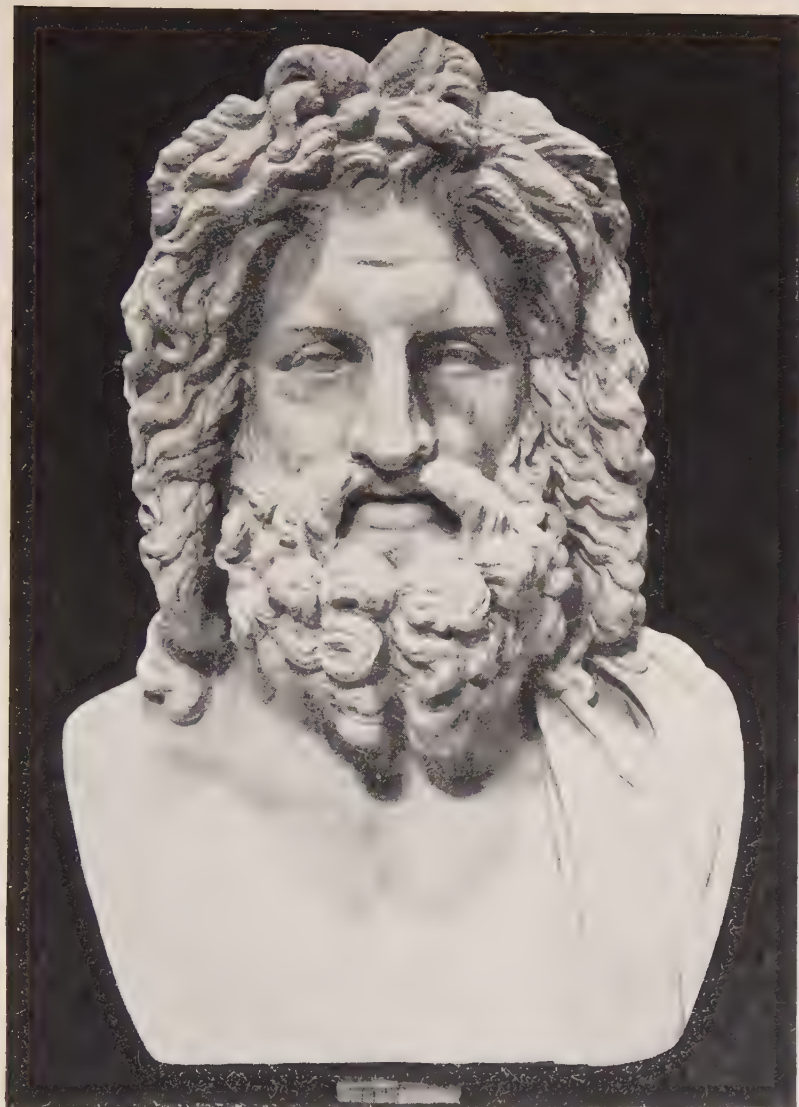
## PLATE XXVII

### ZEUS FROM OTRICOLI

*Colossal head in marble. Vatican Museum, Rome*

This widely appreciated work, reproduced in innumerable plaster casts, came to light in the last decades of the eighteenth century in Otricoli, the ancient Oriculum, a country town in Umbria to the north-east of Rome, during the excavations by Pope Pius VI., and is rightly esteemed one of the finest of the chosen works set up in the Sala Rotunda of the Vatican Museum. In spite of the complete restoration of

PLATE XXVII



ZEUS OF OTRICOLI  
VATICAN MUSEUM, ROME



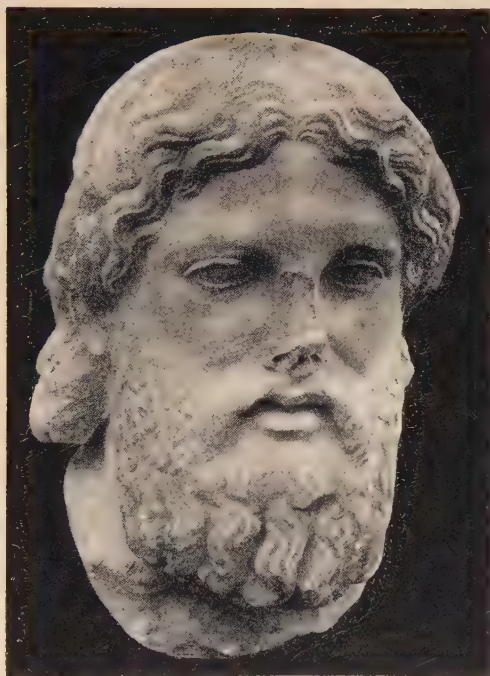


FIG. 23. HEAD OF ZEUS (marble).  
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

the chest and the back it has been really fortunate in preservation as, apart from small restorations, the face is undamaged. At one time falsely regarded as the head of the chryselephantine statue by Phidias in the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, it is now looked upon as a good Roman copy of the head of a marble statue by an unknown Greek master. The forcible realistic modelling and, in spite of its apparent repose, the animation of the features in detail, point to a date not before the second half of the fourth century B.C. and perhaps even later. On account of the style and expression of the face it has recently been attributed, with some probability, to some master who combined the elements of the Attic style with that of Lysippus. Consecrated in a temple or a

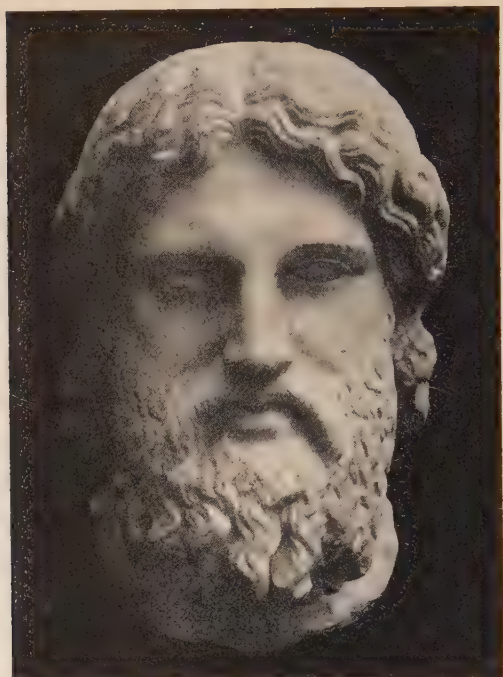


FIG. 24. ZEUS, Boston, from a restoration.

sacred enclosure, its colossal size and sublime character must have had a powerful effect on the pious worshipper; the presumable inclination of the head in the original must have strengthened this effect.

The aspect of this head witnesses once more to the saying that Homer created for the Greeks their Olympus. For the picture of Zeus that through the creative power of the Homeric poetry entered into the religion and the popular consciousness of the Greeks and Romans and even to-day appears clearly before the eyes of every reader of Homer, is plastically embodied in this work, both in outward form and inward spiritual character. It is at the same time an excellent proof of the ability of Greek art to express the whole



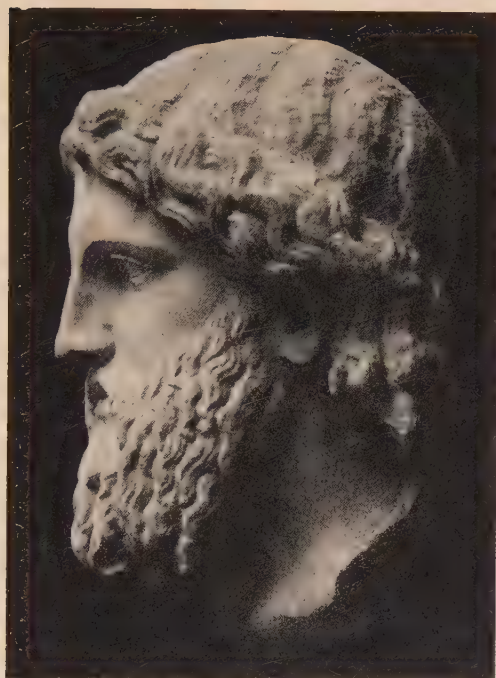


FIG. 25. ZEUS, Boston, from a restoration.

significance of a god in the head alone without the addition of distinctive attributes.

Zeus is conceived in the dignity of ripe manhood untouched by the weakness of age, the head slightly bent forward. The hair, like a lion's mane framing the face in a wavy wreath and covering the ears and the full beard with its round curls, lend the face an air of fatherly dignity, but the greatness and majesty of his appearance exalt him above the human. In the face, somewhat narrowed by the abundance of the hair and beard, the deep furrow and below it the prominent bone of the mighty forehead indicate the possession of clear understanding and energy of will, the narrow deep-set eyes over which the brows bend in a broad curve

exhibit a quiet, firm, sure glance, but in combination with the opened mouth and slightly hanging underlip show a certain amiability and good humour of age. The features show a harmonious mingling of stormy passion and calm tranquillity. We recognise Ζεὺς κύδιστος, μέγιστος ("Most exalted and most powerful Zeus"), who by moving his head, by shaking his locks, or by the frown of his brow makes all Olympus tremble, the μῆτις Ζεὺς ("counsellor Zeus"), the πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε ("Father of men and gods") by whom the destiny of all is wisely controlled, the Ζεὺς μελίχιος ("the mild Zeus") who by gently inclining his head fulfils the petitions of approaching worshippers and gives consolation in sorrow. Thus one seeks and finds in the features of the face the elements out of which the character of the Father and Ruler of All is composed. But when one returns to the contemplation of the head as a whole, the longer the eye rests on it the greater is the impression of sublime all-embracing majesty.

Greater purity and repose than in the Zeus from Otricoli characterise the god as represented in a head (fig. 23)<sup>1</sup> that was discovered a few years ago at Mylasa not far from Halicarnassus in Asia Minor, a country so rich in the later fruits of Attic art. It is a precious marble original of the fourth century B.C., the work of an Attic master of the first rank. Certain holes in the crown of the head not visible in the reproduction point to the original presence of some ornament (polos or calathos). Thus was the Carian Zeus represented. "A noble but gentle beauty radiated from this head. Here is not the stern and unapproachable greatness of the Phidian epoch, nor the restless stormy will of the time of Alexander, but a friendly human being expressed in quiet and gentle forms." In these clear features, in spite

<sup>1</sup> It was separately executed and intended for insertion in a statue, probably a seated figure. Apart from the almost completely destroyed nose it is in good preservation.





APOLLO BELVEDERE

VATICAN MUSEUM, ROME

of the different treatment of the modelling due to its period, we seem to see traces of the majesty of the Olympian Zeus of Phidias, as it is seen on Elia coins. This enhances the value of the work, that is counted among the most beautiful heads of gods that have come down to us, among the finest antiques.

## PLATE XXVIII

## THE APOLLO BELVEDERE

*Marble statue. Vatican, Rome*

This famous statue was found at the end of the fifteenth century, perhaps in the neighbourhood of Rome; all the reliable sources are silent on the subject of the place of its discovery. Pope Julius II., into whose possession it came, used it to decorate the Belvedere built by him in the palace of the Vatican. It made a tremendous impression on artists and scholars as well as on the public. It called forth a multitude of explanations, some ingenious, some absurd, and not infrequently both.

The slender young god Apollo is striding past with a swinging elastic gait. The head is not turned in the direction of his steps but to one side. His shining glance is fixed on the far distance. An artist would say: this Apollo has no fixed aim in his eye; he looks to right and left, in all directions, for he is the rescuer, the helper, the god who protects from harm; he is the Shining One who conquers darkness, who atones for evil, and heals all ills. His names are Φοῖβος and Παιάν, βοηθός, ἀλεξικακός, ἀποτρόπαιος, ἰατὴρ, ἰατρός and ἀκέστωρ (the helper, the defender from harm, the healer).

But the weapon with which he strikes from afar and never misses is the bow; he is the ἀργυρότοξος and κλυτότοξος, the ἐκάεργος and ἐκρηβόλος (he of the silver bow, famous with the





FIG. 26. HEAD OF THE APOLLO BELVEDERE.

bow, the longshot). The left hand of the statue that was lost and is restored undoubtedly bore the bow, perhaps an arrow too, which the archers were accustomed to hold with the middle finger of the bow hand. Across the breast lies the strap of the quiver which hangs on his back; this attribute alone demands the presence of the bow.

The right hand held a branch of laurel with the ribbon fastened to it. The end of this attribute is still preserved on the trunk of the tree just above the head of the snake, and is visible in the reproduction. That part of the tree-trunk that now forms the upper end together with the whole of the

right fore-arm and hand is a modern restoration. The original fore-arm was slightly more raised and more forward. The connection with the tree was made by means of the laurel branch that was in marble. This attribute is associated with the purifying and healing power of the god and frequently occurs. The combination of the bow in the left and the laurel in the right hand is supported by numerous representations of Apollo.

In recent times the view was widely circulated that the god held in his left hand the Aegis, with which he opposed the Gauls' advance on Delphi. This hypothesis was based on the explanation of the remains of an attribute in the left hand of a bronze replica of the statue in the possession of Count Stroganoff at St. Petersburg. But this bronze statuette is nothing but a modern forgery; the highly improbable hypothesis built on it therefore falls to the ground. But all the explanations which would supply the god and his bow with a definite purpose have failed.

Noteworthy are the extremely elegant sandals, that are characteristic of the god who wanders throughout the country bringing aid to all. A chlamys that is fastened on his right shoulder falls over the left arm. It has been remarked that the folds of this drapery are modelled quietly and evenly without any relation to the rapid action of the figure. This chlamys may be an addition of the copyist in marble. The supporting tree stump with the snake is certainly such an addition, for the original was in all probability a bronze statue that would have no need for such a support. The drapery, too, plays a part in the support of the arm in this marble copy. The copy was executed about the second century A.D.

But the original was a splendid example of the best period of Greek sculpture. It belonged to the second half of the fourth century B.C. There are reasons for thinking that it

was the work of Leochares, a younger contemporary of Praxiteles and Scopas.

The slim body and the swing of the action are splendid, but the finest and most remarkable thing about this work is the head (fig. 26). In it all the nobility and purity of the Apollonic nature, all the passionate energy of the shining god, obtain complete expression. The proud nobility of the all-conquering spirit and contempt for all that is low and mean are clearly imprinted in his features. The moral force of the Hellenic religion speaks to-day in this statue of the god. That this masculine being is not wanting in feminine qualities is shown by the arrangement of his abundant hair, that is gathered in a knot like that of a girl. In poetry, too, the god is called ἀκερσεκόμης and ἀβροχαιτής (with uncut, soft hair).

## PLATE XXIX

### ARTEMIS FROM VERSAILLES

*Marble statue. Louvre, Paris*

This world-famous statue, 2 metres high, of which the place of discovery is not known,<sup>1</sup> was brought to France from Rome in the sixteenth century by King Francis I., and receives from the castle at Versailles, where it was set up and remained for so long, the name that is always associated with its own. Its preservation was not very fortunate, as, apart from other less important restorations, almost the whole of the left arm with the fragment of the bow is new; yet the restorations seem correct and the bow could hardly have been left out.

The goddess is out hunting, accompanied by the hind

<sup>1</sup> The suggestion that it is from the Villa of Hadrian not far from the Thermæ is not verified. It is based on a reference by the well known archaeologist, Pirro Ligorio (sixteenth century), who mentions an "Atalanta" as having been found there, the description of which certainly fits the Artemis of Versailles.



ARTEMIS OF VERSAILLES

LOUVRE, PARIS





that is sacred to her and frequently associated with her, which, as literary and sculptural evidence proves, was often represented with antlers. Her attire is appropriate to her occupation. Dainty sandals protect her feet from hurt on the rough uneven ground of the mountain forest, the chiton that reaches only to the knee leaves her arms and neck bare, and allows perfect freedom of movement; so also does the chlamys of some rougher material which is wound round the hips and over the left shoulder like a shawl with both ends tucked in in front, a protection in case of a storm.

This tall, strong, active figure, which by the smallness of the body and head in proportion to the limbs appears still taller, hastens by with a swing, the left foot well advanced and drawing the right after. She hears a distant rustling, turns her head quickly, peers in the distance, and snatches from the quiver an arrow with which to bring down the quarry. Her eyes are not fixed on one solitary aim, her eye and ear are at all times on the alert, she hastens all over the country:

“ Πάντη ἐπιστρέφεται, θηρῶν ὀλέκουσα γενέθλην ”<sup>1</sup>

(“ She turns in all directions, slaying the race of beasts.”)

It is the contrast of the forward action of the body and the sudden turn of the head that gives such wonderful rhythm of action, which is carried out in the fine flow of folds in the drapery and on which the artistic worth of the statue rests.

The swift forcible character of the goddess, like a nymph devoted to the joys of the chase, as she appears to the reader of Homer, is here plastically embodied. For the verses:

“ Ἄρτεμις εἶσι κατ’ οὐρεα ἰοχάειρα  
ἢ κατὰ Τηύγετον περιμήκετον ἢ Ἐρύμανθον  
τερπομένη κάπροισι καὶ ὠκείης<sup>2</sup> ἐλάφοισιν.”

(Artemis passes by, glorying in her archery  
Over the heights of Taygetus and Erymanthus,  
And delights in the chase of wild boars and fleet-footed stags.)

<sup>1</sup> Hymn to Artemis, *Homeric Hymns*, xxvii. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Odyssey*, vi. 102.

complete our understanding of the statue, and such designations as “ἀγροτέρη, ἰοχέαιρα, κελαδαινή, πότνια θηρῶν” (“wild, shooter of arrows, raging, Mistress of Wild Beasts”) find expression here. This conception of Artemis, that predominated among the Greeks, was also current among the Romans. Horace sings of Diana:

(Dicite virgines) . . .

“Vos laetam fluvii et nemorum coma,  
quaecumque aut gelido prominet Algido,  
nigris aut Erymanthi  
silvis aut viridis Cragi.”<sup>1</sup>

(Virgins)

(“Praise her all you who love to linger by stream and grove,  
Her who raises her head on the frozen summit of Algidus  
And there where Erymanthus  
Looms dark and Cragus is green.”)

The hair, waved by the wind, crowned with a diadem in front and gathered in a knot behind, and the animated expression of the face with its half-opened mouth and pursed up underlip, are in full accord with the lively action of the figure. At the same time the fine oval form of the face, the delicate modelling of the cheeks and the rounded chin, clearly indicate the youthful sister of shining Apollo. Its close resemblance to the equally famous statue of the god in the Belvedere of the Vatican is, of course, purely accidental and rests chiefly on similarity of style and treatment, and also of action. The original of the Artemis of Versailles, which is a moderately good copy of the time of the Roman Empire, must also have been a masterpiece of Greek art in its prime, and if it was cast in bronze was without the somewhat disturbing support between the hind and the left leg of the goddess.<sup>2</sup> On art-historical grounds it could scarcely have been earlier than the middle of the fourth century, and on

<sup>1</sup> *Carmina*, i., 21, 1 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the animal was also introduced by the copyist.

account of the excellence of its style and invention not much later. Like the statue of the goddess preserved on Roman coins that Praxiteles executed<sup>1</sup> for the shrine on a rocky height at Anticyra in Phocis, equipped with quiver and perhaps with bow, hurrying with a torch in her hand and a dog beside her, so the original of this Artemis, of which the artist is unknown, was at one time consecrated in a temple or precinct sacred to the goddess. It may have been by an Attic master from the circle of Praxiteles or one of those who worked on the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus.

## PLATE XXX

## MELPOMENE

*Marble statue. Vatican Museum, Rome*

This over life-size figure, well preserved and correctly restored,<sup>2</sup> was discovered together with six other Muses and an Apollo with a lyre in 1774 in the ruins of an antique villa to the south-east of Tivoli. It was purchased by Pope Pius VI. for the Vatican Museum and exhibited in the hall named after the statues of the Muses. The presence of the rocks seems to indicate that the Muses in this cycle are conceived in the open air and probably on the secluded Mount Helicon with its forests and ravines, where all Nine danced like nymphs in a ring; but the sisters are no longer united in dance; each is occupied with her own mood. Melpomene, once the Muse of Singing, represented Tragedy

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, *Itinerary of Greece*, x. 37, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Apart from unimportant details, the right hand with the upper part of the mask, the left foot, and the left fore-arm with the sword are new; the latter is verified by a reproduction of the statue in Stockholm.

perhaps already at the time of the prime of Attic drama, and has maintained this rôle in spite of one or two vacillations until the present day.<sup>1</sup> Her representation in this statue is one of those antiques that on account of their nobility produce an immediate impression, while they may hide many beauties which the eye only discovers by degrees.

A tall figure, with a suggestion of almost masculine strength in its bold lines, stands in an easy pose facing the spectator, but turned a little to the left. She has set her left foot on a high rock, an attitude which is carried off by the tranquillity of the whole pose and which increases the grandeur of the general appearance; the contrast in the positions of the feet and the arms gives a slight action to the figure. She is fully dressed in the garments of a tragic actor, and wears a long trailing chiton with long sleeves and overlap, that with its high waist and broad girdle increases the appearance of height and hangs according to the action of the figure, partly in straight lines and partly in curves. The cloak is wound in almost intentional irregularity round the right arm, drawn across the back and the ends hanging over the left shoulder. She wears thick shoes with somewhat heavy soles. As Muse of Tragedy she holds in her right hand the mask of Heracles, also from the tragic stage. He is conceived as the representative of heroes of Tragedy, as the stories connected with him were frequently treated in drama particularly in later times; the lion skin drawn over the head clearly distinguished him. The Muse of Tragedy is also indicated by the sword grasped in her left hand, in which the complications of the plot found a terrible solution, by the decoration of her hair with the fruit and vine leaves of Dionysos, in whose honour the Attic festival performances

<sup>1</sup> On a wall painting from Pompeii, now in the Louvre, Paris, is the inscription, *Μελπομένη· Τραγωδίας* (supply *ἔχει*) ("Melpomene; her province is Tragedy"). But in Horace, *Odes*, i. 24, Melpomene is the muse of plaintive song.







MELPOMENE

VATICAN MUSEUM, ROME

were instituted, and in her attire.<sup>1</sup> The impression of masculine strength and solemn nobility, of stern and exalted beauty, is increased by the heavy mass of hair that falls loosely on the neck and partly covers the forehead. The slightly open mouth with the curious bitter expression of the lips, the firm downward glance of the heavy-lidded eyes, lend to the face an expression of serious thought, a restrained and collected air, no loud complaints nor uncontrolled grief. At the same time the somewhat pointed face is in its fine and delicate modelling not without youthful womanly charm, that does not disturb the earnest character of the whole. Thus the artist has been able by the majesty of the general effect and the expression of the face to set the beholder in the mood that is still roused by the reading of the tragedies to-day, and must in a greater degree have been felt by the visitor to the antique theatre. He has given clear and individual expression both in its outward form and inner essence to the powerful, earnest, and impressive qualities of the ancient tragedies, without too much reliance on external attributes, and succeeded in the most difficult of tasks—a personification of Tragedy.

Concerning the authorship of the originals of this cycle of the Nine Muses, of which seven have survived in good Roman copies, a suggestion has been brought forward. A careful comparison of the artistic character of the statues, particularly in respect of the style and expression of the heads, recalls the art of Praxiteles. The latter executed a bronze group of the Muses for the town of Thespieae at the foot of the Helicon in Boeotia where the goddesses were particularly honoured. This group, named after the place "The

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ovid, *Amores*, iii. 1, 11.

"Venit et ingenti violenta Tragoedia passu

Fronte comae torva, palla iacebat humi."

("Tragedy also came, mighty with great strides,

Her hair wild on her forehead, trailing her gown.")

Thespiades," was dedicated by Consul L. Licinius Lucullus at Rome, after his victorious battles in Spain, in the Temple of Felicitas built by him at Velabrum out of the spoils of war.<sup>1</sup> But the immediate connection with Praxiteles, in spite of many echoes of his manner, has not been established, and the view that the statues in the Vatican reproduce a later cycle of the Muses, perhaps of the Hellenistic period, is worthy of consideration. In any case, there is so much of the peculiarity of Praxiteles in the heads that we must seek the author either in the circle of Praxiteles, his followers, or his imitators.

## PLATE XXXI

### HYPNOS

*Bronze head. British Museum, London*

By a fortunate piecing together it is not difficult to restore the admirable bronze head discovered in 1855 near Perugia (Perusia). A marble statue in Madrid of the same size,<sup>2</sup> of which the arms are missing, is with ease and certainty completed from other copies of the original, as, for example, a gem in Berlin (figs. 27 and 28). And its interpretation is also above all doubt. The slender youth with horn and poppy-branch in his hand is Hypnos, the god of Sleep. The suggestion that it is his twin brother Oneiros, the god of Dreams, is opposed by the fact that the latter, in contrast to

<sup>1</sup> Cicero, in *Verrem* 4, 2, 4. Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 34, 69 (cf. also 36, 39). Strabo, *Geography*, 8, p. 381. Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, fragm. 75 (Melber).

<sup>2</sup> Without restoration it measures 1.50 metres in its stooping position, upright it would be about 1.62 metres high. In the plaster cast (fig. 28) the tree trunk that serves as a support to the marble (fig. 27), and which rather disturbs the picture, has been left out; it was also absent in the original bronze.

the former, seldom appears in religion, literature, or art. The type of the statue, that remained the standard until late Roman times, arose not earlier than the second half of the fourth century B.C., as it seems to unite many elements of the style of Praxiteles and Scopas, but it may well have been executed some decades later; for this art movement lasted so long that in the absence of historical information an exact date is not to be arrived at. There are many possibilities with regard to its dedication. It may have been some grateful mortal, who after long sorrow at last found sleep and erected this votive statue. But there was another aspect of the cult of the god; the will of the gods was often announced to the naïve believer through the agency of Hermes in dreams, or by divine consent the fulfilment of wishes took place during sleep. Particularly in the holy precincts of Asclepius, sufferers in body and mind were recommended cures in which recovery was promised in a long sleep (*ἐγκοιμῆσις*, incubatio). We read of such miracles in the inscriptions at Epidaurus, and this explains the worship of Hypnos in the Asclepieion at Sicyon (Pausanias, *Itinerary of Greece*, ii. 10, 2). Consecrated in some place of worship, and set up near the altar or in a small shrine effectively lit from different sides, the bronze original, richly gilt, must have exercised a magical charm, especially if regarded in a devout mood and from a moderate distance. Even the aspect of the copy soothes and invigorates the care-laden beholder.

A delicately formed boyish figure of ripening beauty floats over the earth in the stillness of the night, apparently aiming at one fixed point, but in thought turning his help on every side where those in sorrow and trouble lie awake or whose sleep is broken and restless.<sup>1</sup> With his body leaning

<sup>1</sup> This activity frequently represented in art is also referred to in numerous places by Roman poets; particularly clearly expressed is the description of Silius Italicus, *Punica*, x. 352.



FIG. 27. HYPNOS (marble).  
Museo del Prado, Madrid.

forward, Hypnos bends down towards men to pour sleep-giving juices in their eyes or to rub their temples with the poppy. The successful rendering of the lightly striding, softly gliding action, the sharp contrast in the movement of the arms, the wonderful rhythm of the whole figure, which almost transcends the limits of sculpture, and finally the seizing of the right moment, are as worthy of admiration as the masterly personification, in which the character of the kindly helper familiar from the time of the Homeric poetry appears in plastic form, not roughly realistic, not sinister





HYPNOS. BRONZE HEAD IN BRITISH MUSEUM

*Reproduced from a cast*





FIG. 28. HYPNOS, restored cast, Strassburg.

nor fearful, merely embodying human thoughts and feelings, doing its good work as much by its youthful beauty as by its healing balm. This conception of an imaginative artist, which is so genuinely antique and corresponds so accurately to the relations of gods and mortals, yet speaks to us with a modern voice; both conception and execution accord with our ways of thinking and feeling. And as with other figures of the gods of the fourth century the head in itself is full of psychological interest. Its beauty is not disclosed by a searching analysis of form, but a quiet examination of the

head strengthens and deepens our first impression. The hair is parted according to the fashion of the time and divided by a band; thick curls hang behind the ears, in front it is gathered into a knot on either side, at the back into a thick mass. The two wings<sup>1</sup> fit easily beneath the symmetrically arranged hair, completing the design. The explanation of these is that Hypnos is conceived as vanishing silently in the darkness like a night-bird. In conformity with the inclination of the body the head is also bent. The features of the fine oval face are mild and gentle, a faint smile and a dreamy thoughtfulness characterise the expression, the glance of the eyes is indistinct, the lids are about to cover them; the gracious spirit who at this moment as Hypnodotes is pouring life-giving sleep (*νήδυμον ὕπνον*) on the eyelids of tired mortals is himself about to fall asleep. A feeling of peace comes over us. The lines of Homer echo softly within us:

“ . . . ” *Ὑπνον*

*ἥδὺν ἐπὶ βλεφάροισι βάλε γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη.*”

(“ Grey-eyed Athena cast sweet sleep on his eyes.”)

*Odyssey, i. 363 et seq.*

*Καὶ τῷ νήδυμος ὕπνος ἐπὶ βλέφαροισιν ἐπιπτεν,  
νήγρετος, ἥδιτος . . .*

(“ And upon him (Odysseus) fell pleasant sleep,  
Deep sleep upon his eyelids.”)

*Odyssey, xiii. 79 et seq.*

Indeed this creation of a master of the second prime of Greek art has had its effect with undiminished strength from Hellenic times to the Roman Empire and even to the present day. Such a work is not to be described in words, it must be studied by itself and looked at again and again; then it will irresistibly charm every receptive eye. This bronze of Perugia has become dear to many a congenial student of the antique and soothed his mind from care.

<sup>1</sup> The left wing is not preserved in the original; in the completed cast (fig. 28) it is restored.







HUNTER AND DOG. MARBLE STATUE

GLYPTOTHEK NY-CARLSBERG, COPENHAGEN

## PLATE XXXII

## HUNTER AND DOG

*Marble statue. Glyptothek Ny-Carlsberg, Copenhagen*

The explanation of the somewhat over life-size statue from Italy, and ostensibly from Monte Cassino, is an interesting problem. An original of the fourth century B.C. has been preserved in numerous copies, differing widely from each other. That in the Belvedere of the Vatican, well-known as the "Meleager," has a large boar's head on the left-hand side; the interpretation derived from this has been handed on to all other copies. A reproduction in Berlin is without the drapery, another in the Fogg Museum of Art near Boston, also without the chlamys, has in place of the long spear a short stick<sup>1</sup> under the arm. Probably the original was without the drapery and bore the stick in place of the spear. If the original was of bronze the supporting tree trunk would not be needed. The composition would thus gain in simplicity and effect. The variety in the representations shows that the copyists seem to have done very much as they liked, making arbitrary alterations to suit the taste of the time. This particular statue was a favourite with the Romans, always passionate followers of the chase, and frequently ornamented their parks and villas, the introduction of the boar's head being most appropriate to Italy, noted for this game. So that the old explanation even of the well-known replica in the Vatican is not at all certain. We would call the original "hunter and dog" and conjecture that this ideal figure (not a portrait) was at one time dedicated

<sup>1</sup> Such a stick was carried in hunting and served to startle up and drive the game (Xenophon, *Kynegetikos*, 6; 11, and 17).



FIG. 29. HEAD OF A HUNTER (marble).  
Villa Medici, Rome.

to Artemis at some centre of Hellenic culture by a mortal in gratitude for success in the chase, or it preserved the memory of some departed huntsman over his grave. Such representations of daily life are shown in Attic grave reliefs, and Pliny the Elder mentions (*Naturalis Historia*, 34, 91) ninety-one bronze statues of "venatores" by various Greek sculptors. This sport, which hardens the body and sharpens the senses, was, like athletics, held in high esteem among the Greeks and passionately pursued.

The Copenhagen copy is a very good example and could be correctly restored from other replicas. The right arm, parts of the spear and the head are new, the latter from an excellent copy in the Villa Medici at Rome (unrestored, fig. 29). This wonderful piece of sculpture makes a striking and profound impression at the first glance. Quite masterful is the

modelling of the nude body in its round, firm contours, true to and almost surpassing nature. Strong and shapely, the young huntsman stands in elastic action, his weight on the right leg, the left foot drawn back and a little to one side. The strong wooden spear is easily completed by an iron point with a double hook (*κνώδοντες*) to the usual form. The right arm behind the back indicates rest after the chase, but the rhythmic line of the body, the expression of the turned head with its eyes on the distance, and the arrangement of the chlamys, which is wound round the shoulders and fore-arm, all suggest a nervous restlessness, and give the impression that in the next instant man and dog will be rushing in a wild chase over the fields and through the woods. The qualities of the chase are thus admirably suggested in this single huntsman; the spectator is carried away by the exuberant strength and enthusiasm of the youth. The style followed by the unknown master is most appropriate to the subject. The style of Scopas of Paros is brilliantly illustrated. He strove for and attained intensity of expression, passionate action, both in the heat of struggle and in quiet poses, in many respects not unlike the somewhat younger Lysippus, but in strong contrast to his contemporary Praxiteles. And this "pathos" glows and sparkles to the full in this fine head (fig. 29). The rather shallow skull and broad contour of the face are quite different from the high rounded skull and delicate oval face of the Praxitelean Hermes; the deep-set upward glancing eyes have a peculiarly fiery quality, the lips seem to breathe. The discussion of the antithesis of Ethos and Pathos in antique literature and psychological studies generally brought about a change in the conception and interpretation of the life of the mind; presumably this had its influence on the masters of sculpture. The importance and value of this splendid and forcible statue are greatly increased by the psychologically interesting treatment of the head.



FIG. 30. BRONZE HEAD OF A BOY.  
Glyptothek, Munich.

## V

### GREEK STATUES OF ATHLETES

IN Greece there existed an ancient custom of dedicating a statue of the victor in the athletic games to the god in whose honour the games were held. In many places, as at Olympia, statuettes of clay or bronze, sometimes quite primitive in workmanship, representing athletes as horsemen, warriors, charioteers, etc., have been discovered. With the rapid



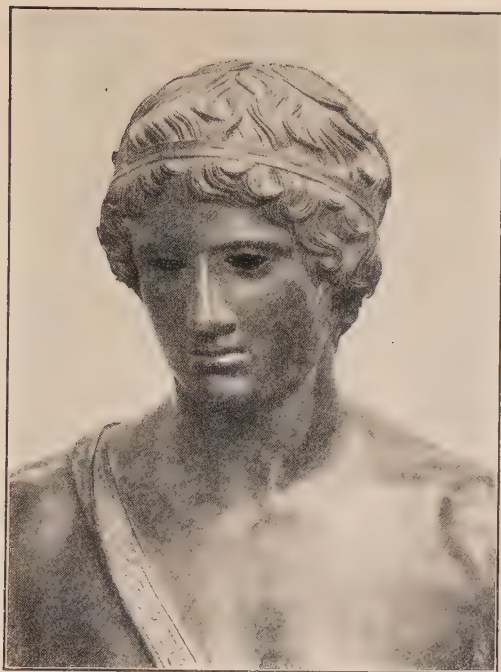


FIG. 31. BRONZE HEAD OF A BOY, Glyptothek, Munich.  
(The bust with the gilt baldric is modern.)

development of sculpture it became the custom, according to documents and inscriptions, from the sixth century B.C., to erect a life-size statue (almost exclusively of bronze) in honour of the victorious athlete and as a permanent record of his achievements on the place where the games were held, or sometimes in the palaestra or on some open place in the home of the victor; he himself, his fellow townsmen or relations, or private individuals, paying the cost. Thus by degrees on the more famous places a number of portrait statues were collected which must have made an overwhelming impression on the visitors to the games. That this was the case at Delphi we have long known from literary sources, and the excavations

undertaken by the French government have borne it out. The discovery of the bronze charioteer which belonged to the quadriga celebrating a victory of Polyzalos of Syracuse is one of the most valuable antiques of archaistic times. Concerning Olympia we had information from the *Periegesis* of Pausanias before the investigation of the Altis by the German government; the numerous bases of bronzes which came to light on this occasion, inscribed with the names of the victor and his home, the manner of his victory, and frequently his former athletic successes in prose and verse, are monumental evidence of the correctness of the historian. The statues were indeed nearly all carried off or destroyed in ancient times, and only quite unimportant remains were rediscovered at Olympia; elsewhere, too, original Greek athletic statues have only been preserved in isolated instances (figs. 30 and 31). Some compensation for the loss of the originals is offered by the copies, almost exclusively of marble, which were executed for Roman patrons of art for the decoration of their palaces and villas, for open places and buildings and the *Thermae*. Many archaic masters, and in the prime of Greek art the most important workers in bronze, particularly of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., have executed statues of victorious athletes. The identification of these among the crowd of Roman copies preserved is in some cases already achieved by archaeological investigations, and still form some of the archaeologists' most important tasks. Thus we are enabled to give due honour to the principal masters and their school. The highest aim of Polycletus was the formation of quiet standing figures in an accurate mathematical system of proportion; also the wonderful charm of ethical grace, of *aïda*, of *decor*,<sup>1</sup> is displayed in many a youthful and boyish figure from the workshop of Polycletus or his school, in their sedate and unassuming character and the pure

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, xii. 10, 7, *et seq.*



DISCOBOLUS (RESTORED) AFTER THE BRONZE OF MYRON

NATIONAL MUSEUM, ROME





FIG. 32. HEAD OF MYRON'S DISCOBOLUS.

youthful modesty that looks out from the features (figs. 30, 31, and 33). The somewhat earlier Myron is considered the master in the representation of figures in rhythmic action and full of fire and animation (Plate XXXIII. and fig. 32). The Sicyonian Lysippus introduced in opposition to that of the Polycletan school a new system of proportions of the human body of a more slender type, and as founder of the naturalistic tendency had a great influence on the art that followed (Apoxyomenos, Plate XXXIV.).

The gymnastically trained bodies of these slim boys and youths and vigorous men are evidence of the ennobling effect of athletics. Presented in complete nudity they are not faithful portraits from life, but motives and models from the palaestra transformed and exalted to the highest ideal of physical beauty and strength. They are the most splendid human beings that the art of any period has created. The variety of types preserved are divisible into two groups: the





FIG. 33. DIADUMENUS,  
AFTER POLYCLETUS.

Marble statue from Delos.  
National Museum, Athens.

The action of the statue is quite clear even without the hands. The youth is pulling at the ends of the fillet in order to tighten the knot at the back of the head. In the marble copy, executed probably before the Christian era, there are a chlamys and a bow introduced in the support against the right leg. These (not shown in the reproduction) were until recently regarded as arbitrary introductions of the copyist, but it is now suggested that they belonged to the statue which is thought to have been a representation of Apollo. In any case the statue is a harmonious picture of the combined result of gymnastic and ethical training. It is stated in Pausanias' *Itinerary of Greece*, I, 8, 4, that a representation of Apollo binding a fillet round his head was to be found near the Temple of Ares at Athens.

athlete in action and the athlete at rest. For the first it is sufficient to refer to the rhythmic Discobolus <sup>1</sup> of Myron with its vivacious animated face, to the two bronze wrestlers in

<sup>1</sup> The reproduction on Plate XXXIII. is from the bronzed cast, that is principally put together from two very good copies: the greater part of the body is from the marble in the National Museum in Rome, which came to light in 1906 on the crown lands of Castel Porziano on the site of the ancient Laurentum under the remains of an antique villa; the head is restored from the famous copy in the Palazzo Lancelotti at Rome.

Naples, that in a stooping attitude watch with outstretched hands for a favourable opportunity to come to grips (copies of statues in Lysippan style), and to the cleverly interlaced group of wrestlers in Florence, a copy of an original from the first half of the third century B.C., to be able to appreciate the varied motives of pose, the happy choice of the significant moment, the

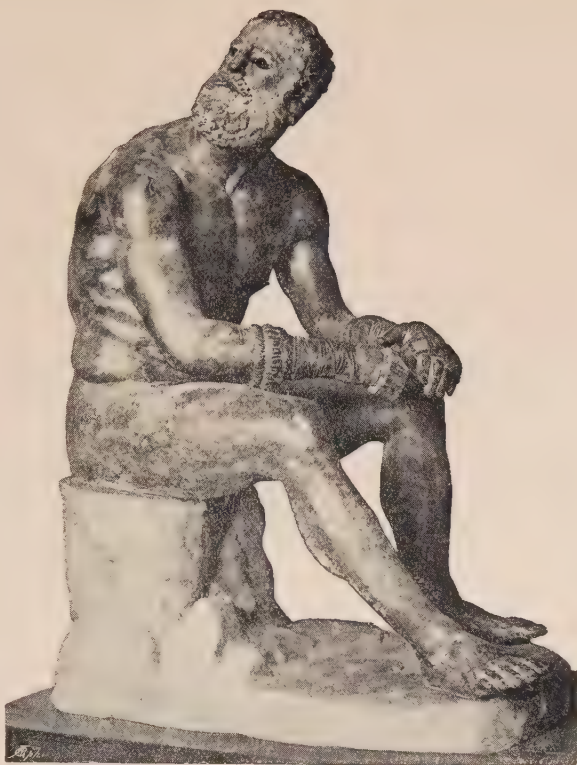


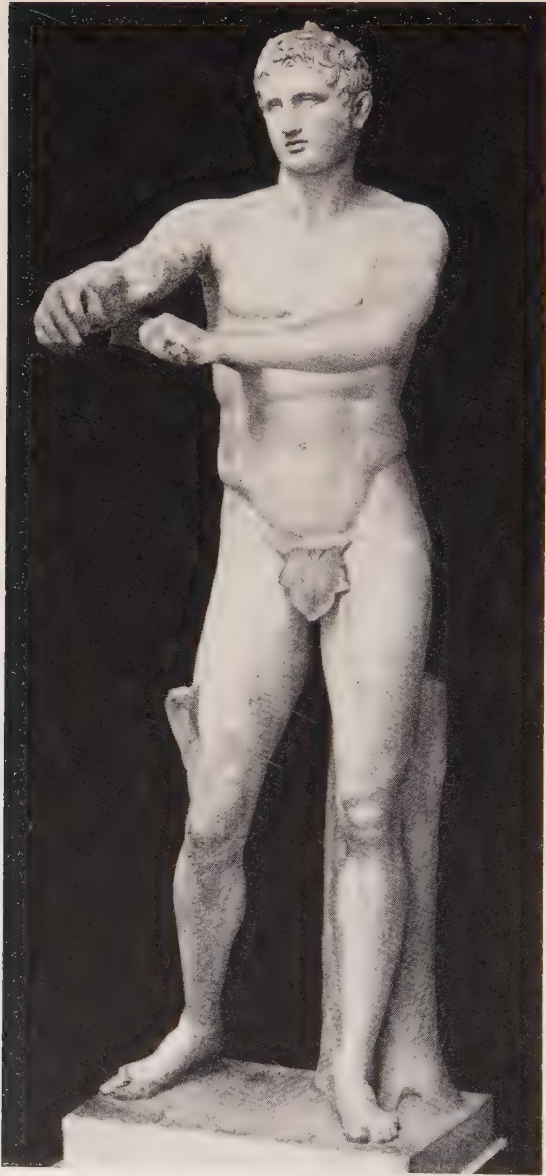
FIG. 34. STATUE OF A PUGILIST (bronze).  
Museo Nazionale, Rome.

masterly rhythm of action and truth to life. The second group is more numerous: the victor pours oil on his body and limbs to make them supple for wrestling (the "athlete anointing himself" in Munich from an Attic bronze about 400 B.C.); after a successful encounter another is binding the fillet of the victor round his head (Diadumenus, after Polycletus, fig. 33), or scrapes the oil and dirt from his arms (Apoxyomenos, after Lysippus, plate XXXIV.). In these statues it is the quiet pose and often the reserved appearance of the figures which appeal to the

spectator. In this manner daily athletic incidents which, though trivial to us, were closely bound up with Hellenic culture are ennobled and exalted by means of art. Only towards the end of the fourth century B.C., partly through the influence of the Lysippan school, was the personality of the victor emphasised in face and figure and a more exact rendering of nature striven for. A bronze head discovered in Olympia is an excellent example from the beginnings of this new realistic movement. The most noteworthy expression of this movement is the statue of a pugilist found in Rome and now in the National Museum (fig. 34), an original from some land of Greek culture perhaps of the third century B.C.<sup>1</sup> A powerfully-built bearded pugilist rests on a rock after a victorious struggle, his fore-arms and hands enveloped in leather strapping, and looks round with a proud scornful air. His bruised face and flattened nose and ears show unmistakable signs of the encounter; he breathes heavily with open mouth and panting lungs. The excellence of the execution and the striking effect of the representation only partially atone for the revolting impression made by this brutal professional athlete. The eye turns gratefully to the copies of the masterpieces of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., the Diadumenus and the Apoxyomenos and others in which the spirit of Greek athletic sculpture is embodied in its noblest form.

<sup>1</sup> An earlier date is now suggested—about 400 B.C. In this case it would be an example of the contrast of healthy realism and ideal conception which appears in the portrait art of the fifth century.





APOXYOMENOS. MARBLE STATUE AFTER LYSIPPUS

VATICAN MUSEUM, ROME



## PLATE XXXIV

## APOXYOMENOS

*Marble statue after Lysippus in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican Museum, Rome*

Seldom indeed has the discovery of a Roman copy of a Greek masterpiece been of such importance as that of the work after the Sicyonian bronze worker Lysippus, mentioned by Pliny the Elder under the Greek name of Apoxyomenos<sup>1</sup> and well known under this name, which came to light<sup>2</sup> in 1849 at Trastevere in Rome. Well preserved,<sup>3</sup> this admirable copy could be identified almost immediately after its discovery as most probably after Lysippus, by means of information concerning the system of proportions for the figure employed by him; and it forms a sure starting point for the identification of other works of the Lysippan school. The lost bronze original, of which the destination is not mentioned in contemporary literature, was probably the statue of a victorious competitor in wrestling or other festival games, in whose honour it was erected either on the place of the festival itself, perhaps in a gymnasium, or in some open space in his home. Introduced into Rome by Agrippa and appropriately to its subject set up in the *Thermae* adjacent to the Pantheon built by the latter, it became there generally known and appreciated; so that when Tiberius carried it off to the apartments of his palace, it was in true southern manner stormily demanded back on the occasion of a theatrical

<sup>1</sup> *Naturalis Historia*, 34, 62; the Latin name "*destringens se*," is also mentioned by Pliny the Elder.

<sup>2</sup> In the ruins of an extensive building of the later empire, probably a bath, to the decoration of which the statue seems appropriate.

<sup>3</sup> Apart from unimportant restorations only the fingers of the right hand with the wrongly introduced dice are modern.

performance, and the emperor had it restored to its original position.<sup>1</sup>

Somewhat over life-size, a young athlete stands before us in complete nudity, removing after the contest the oil and dirt<sup>2</sup> from his right arm with a firmly held flesh-scraper.<sup>3</sup> This every-day motive from the palaestra, which other masters, as, for example, Polycletus,<sup>4</sup> also treated, is here rendered by Lysippus with unequalled artistry. This tall elastic figure with long lower limbs, broad chest, and noticeably small head<sup>5</sup> set on a long neck, stands with feet rather wide apart in apparent rest, but with a suggestion of lively action in the pose of the legs and arms, a swaying to and fro of the whole figure. In looking at the statue it is difficult to say what is most deserving of admiration, the suppleness of the limbs, the modelling of the nude, the play of muscles, or the fine proportions, the firm contour,<sup>6</sup> or the rhythmic action. These qualities, that can only be appreciated in the marble itself or in casts, from various points of view, have obtained constant recognition from connoisseurs from the time of its discovery, and remain for artists an inexhaustible source of instruction.

In our admiration of the rhythmic and harmonious completeness of the whole we are liable to neglect the examina-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pliny, 34, 62.

<sup>2</sup> Concerning the custom of the Greeks of smearing themselves with oil and dust in the palaestra before wrestling, it is sufficient to refer to Lucian, *Anacharsis sive de exercitationibus*, 28.

<sup>3</sup> This is not clearly recognisable in the reproduction; it is a sickle-shaped vessel with a handle, hollowed inside to take up the oil and perspiration. The Greek name is *σκληγγίς*, but also *ξυστήρ* and *ξύστρα*. From the same root is *ἀποξύνειν* (scrape off), and the participle form introduced into Latin, "*ἀποξυνόμενος*," instead of "destringens se."

<sup>4</sup> Pliny, 34, 55.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Pliny, 34, 65.

<sup>6</sup> As the supports, still partly preserved, introduced in the Roman copy to relieve the strain of the out-stretched arm and at the back of the left leg, were absent in the bronze original, the effect in the round must have been much more compact.



FIG. 35. HEAD OF APOXYOMENOS.

tion of the head (fig. 35), in which the master has given a new proof of his ability and his individual realistic qualities. The head covered with a tangled mass of hair is slightly inclined, suggesting relaxation after the conflict and, unlike the older athletic statues, contains indications of portraiture in the features. The face is broadly oval, the lower part of the forehead very prominent. In the thoughtful, almost melancholy, countenance and open mouth there is indication of inner excitement, as it appears in other heads of Lysippan school and period<sup>1</sup> and as one might expect in an athlete

<sup>1</sup> The contrast with the head of Hermes from Olympia (Plate XXIV.) illustrates the profound difference between Praxitelean and Lysippan art in form and expression; a comparison, too, with the head of the Ares Ludovisi (fig. 20), which

after a strenuous contest. Thus the interest of the spectator is renewed in the physiognomy of the head which increases the estimation of the work. But apart from its artistic perfection the statue is invaluable as a pattern of physical development of a body trained in athletic exercises from early youth.

is related in character to the art of Lysippus, but also suggests Scopas, is instructive. In the fiery expression of the face and the elastic swing of the figure (fig. 29 and Plate XXXII.) the Hunter combines the elements of both masters. Thus the artists who have had the greatest influence on the style of Greek plastic art stand in their distinctive features clearly before us.

## VI

### T O M B S

NEXT to the shrines of the gods it was those of the dead, that is, tombs, with which plastic art of classic times was principally occupied. We possess plastically decorated tombs of almost all periods of antique culture from the earliest to the latest.

They are divisible into three classes, which are closely allied and often overlap. The first class represents the exaltation of the deceased through death, who appears as a higher being from another world. The second and most important division only aims at preserving the memory of the deceased, who is represented in a more or less characteristic manner. Classic art was content in this with general outlines and emphasised the human rather than the individual. Here people are represented in situations characteristic of their general qualities, never in an isolated accidental moment of their life. Even individual portraits only became customary in later times about the time of Alexander. The third group consists of those which contain no picture of the deceased, but all manner of sculpture as decoration; but this class may be combined with either of the former. The decorations were chiefly drawn from heroic legends; the connections with the deceased, if they occur, are always general; they refer to his favourite occupations, such as hunting and war, or to death in general, as mourners, funeral processions, and so on. Individual incidents from the life of the deceased were never chosen for the decoration of tombs.



The forms of these decorated tombs are of great variety. The tombs which rise up above the grave must be distinguished from the tomb as grave containing the deceased. Our plates give examples of both.

We know of richly decorated coffins in the sixth century, from the Ionic town Clazomenae; they are decorated with animals and battle subjects. From the best period of the free style we possess only unimportant remains of wooden sarcophagi, which were covered either with purely decorative ornament or subjects from the legends of the heroes, like the "Death of the Niobids." Marble coffins are extremely rare in this period; but there is an excellent example of the fourth century, with battles of the Amazons, at Vienna, and above all the splendid sarcophagi of Sidon have been preserved, of which the finest is reproduced on Plates XXXVII. to XXXIX. Marble coffins decorated with reliefs were customary in the time of the Roman Empire and a large number of them have been preserved. They mostly present mythological subjects, those from human life being always general in character. Besides the coffins, the urns for the ashes were also sometimes decorated with sculpture. This happened only in isolated cases in Greece, but quite frequently in Etruria and Rome.

The simplest type of tomb over the grave is the Stele, a stone slab driven into the earth, which it was the custom to decorate with reliefs as early as the Mycenaean epoch. In the sixth century the narrow high stele which only showed the upright figure of the deceased life-size was the most usual; women were often represented seated. An example of this type, only with the addition of a maidservant, is the beautiful stele of Hegeso from the fifth century (Plate XXXVI.). A good example of the family groups popular at Athens in the fourth century is Plate XXXV. The triangular pediment of these tombs takes them out of the



RELIEF FROM AN ATTIC TOMB

NATIONAL MUSEUM, ATHENS



class of the true stele and connects them with another type in which an aedicula or temple-like monument was erected over the grave. Rich showy tombs, such as arose in Asia Minor, chose the temple form, of which the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus is the classical example. Another type of tomb is derived from the idea of an altar over the grave; yet another is content with an artistic form of the mound itself, the tumulus of the grave; but these various styles by no means existed in all parts or at all times.

## PLATES XXXV. AND XXXVI

### TWO RELIEFS FROM TOMBSTONES AT ATHENS

On a block of Pentelican marble 1.45 metre high and 0.85 metre wide, a group of three figures is carved in relief (Plate XXXV.). The right-hand top corner of the panel is restored. It was enclosed on both sides with narrow columns. On these rested a triangular pediment which was executed in a separate piece of stone and is lost. On the cornice of this was an inscription which told whose tomb the monument decorated.

This relief, now in the National Museum at Athens, was discovered in 1870 during the excavations near the little church Agia Triada. At that time a wonderfully well-preserved part of the old Necropolis was discovered, before the great double gate, the Dipylon, at Athens out of which led the holy road to Eleusis and the main road to Piraeus. It was the custom of the ancients to place the tombs along the road immediately outside the gates. It would seem that the Athenians themselves, for some unknown cause, afterwards filled up this part of the burial ground. It is suggested that this took place soon after the taking of Athens by Sulla, and that the Athenians re-acquired the use of the part before the

gates, but wishing to preserve the graves of their fathers had the whole place filled in. Thus a number of the finest tombs of the prime of Attic art are preserved upright and undamaged.

The beautiful stele of Hegeso, the daughter of Proxenos (Plate XXXVI.), belongs to the earliest of the sculptured tombs from this place. It still stands upright in its original position by the road. This relief is also framed with pillars whose capitals are more carefully executed than in the other stele. Over these is the pediment with the inscription 'Ηγησώ Προξένου; the form of writing ο for ου belongs to an early period. Hegeso sits in an easy chair of simple though unusual form. She wears an Ionic chiton with half sleeves and a cloak. Her hair is ornamented with ribbons in the daintiest manner and over the back of the head hangs a thin soft veil. She is in the act of taking some object from a casket that the maidservant is holding before her. This object, probably from the position of the hand a necklace, was only indicated by colour. She is examining the trinket. The maid is dressed quite differently from her mistress; her face, too, is of a less noble type of beauty. Her hair is completely hidden in a cap and she wears the loose chiton with tight sleeves which characterises the slave, the foreigner. Her feet, too, are hidden in shoes, while those of her mistress, which rest on a dainty footstool, are in sandals.

Its style refers this relief to the time of the school and followers of Phidias in the period of the Peloponnesian war. The heads bear a strong resemblance to those on the frieze of the Parthenon; the thin clinging drapery points to a more recent time. In any case the stele belongs to the fifth century. Like the sculptures on the Parthenon frieze, the full effect of this relief could only be appreciated while the rich colouring still survived.

The relief only aims at preserving the memory of the noble







ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΗΓΕΣΙΑΣ

DIPYLON, ATHENS

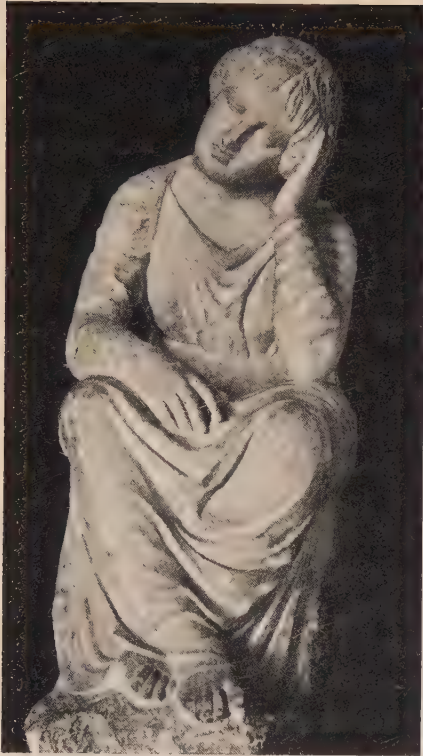


FIG. 36. MOURNING MAIDSERVANT FROM MENIDHI (the ancient Acharnae). Attic tomb-statue about the middle of fourth century B.C., Imp. Museum, Berlin.

and beautiful lady Hegeso, and the means chosen is the representation of her as she lived busied with her jewel casket, waited on by her maid. No trace of a reference to death or departure from life is there, or hint of a life beyond the tomb.

The larger stele (Plate XXXV.) represents not a single figure, but a family group. It belongs to a type very frequent in the fourth century for the decoration of family graves. These reliefs, too, were merely designed to perpetuate

the memory of the deceased; in them, too, there is no indication of a departure from life.

These sculptures have been greatly misunderstood. The principal reason for this is the favourite motive of the hand-clasp which has been taken in its modern meaning as a sign of farewell. Although the next question who is departing and who remains behind, which is the dead and which the living, introduces the greatest difficulties, yet this false interpretation became widely circulated. It rests on a complete misunderstanding of what the antique tombs are and express.

This hand-clasp does not mean parting, but is, on the other hand, a sign of the indissoluble bond that unites the members of the family. The shadow of death that falls on the group is only hinted at in isolated melancholy gestures which are mostly confined to figures in the background.

In our plate we see a seated woman clasping the hand of one approaching from the right. Both wear the Ionic chiton and cloak, and sandals on their feet. They look each other in the face. The whole feeling is one of coming together, holding together, not at all of parting.

In the background stands a bearded man who leans on a staff. He wears a cloak in the ordinary manner over his left shoulder and round the lower part of his body. In a thoughtful mood he strokes his beard with his left hand. His head is of a generalised type and not a portrait, as is nearly always the case in the older stelae; it is a strong handsome head, just as those of the women are beautiful in a typical way.

The style of this relief shows great differences from that of Hegeso; this is most noticeable in the heads and the treatment of the hair. The grand manner, the purity and nobility have vanished with the convention; instead the face and hair and the drapery are much more truthfully and naturally





PLATE XXXVII



SO-CALLED ALEXANDER SARCOPHAGUS OF SIDON. RELIEFS FROM THE FRONT

OTTOMAN MUSEUM, CONSTANTINOPLE

treated. The relief belongs to the first half of the fourth century B.C.

In the same way as maidservants were introduced into Attic reliefs as accessory figures, head on hand in an attitude of grief, so similar figures in the round were set up on burial places. One of the best examples preserved is that of the young slave (fig. 36) from about the middle of the fourth century B.C. According to an ingenious if not certain explanation, this figure sat as a watcher on a rock in the grounds of a grave at Menidhi in Attica. The chiton, of coarse material with long narrow sleeves, characterises the menial, the close-shorn hair and the expression of the features indicate her sympathy. The maidservants who served their mistresses so faithfully during life guarded their place of rest after death, simple pictures of pathetic devotion.

## PLATES XXXVII.-XXXIX

### THE SO-CALLED ALEXANDER SARCOPHAGUS OF SIDON

#### *Imperial Ottoman Museum, Constantinople*

In the spring of 1887, in searching for building stone on the Necropolis of ancient Sidon (Saida), an extensive subterranean burial ground was discovered by accident. It was carefully excavated by the Turkish government, and was found to contain seventeen sarcophagi, that were brought to the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. The largest and most richly decorated is that called the Alexander Sarcophagus from the figure of Alexander the Great which appears in its reliefs.

Plate XXXVII. shows the reliefs on the front in two parts and Plate XXXVIII. gives the whole sarcophagus from the



FIG. 37. HEAD OF A PERSIAN.

back; the last stood in the burial chamber near the west wall. The narrow north side is here visible very much foreshortened. The principal side was turned to the east towards the open part of the chamber; it differs from the back in the greater richness of the relief, which contains eighteen human figures and eight horses, while the other shows only eight men and five animals. But the care and delicacy of the execution is the same on both sides.

This sarcophagus, on account of its size (the figures of the principal relief are 58 centimetres high) and the richness of its ornament and figure work, is one of the finest and most important antiques in existence. It is in such excellent preservation that even the rich colour of the painting is in many cases still evident. The relief panels of the longer sides measure 2.80 metres each.

The purely decorative ornament of the sarcophagus belongs



FIG. 38. HEAD OF ALEXANDER.

to the Ionic style. The actual body of the bier is in the form of a wooden box richly ornamented with beadings and fillings. The latter consist of the high reliefs. The lid of the box is in the form of a temple pediment with an Ionic entablature. Below the dentils runs a frieze of naturalistic vine leaves. At the time of the execution of this sarcophagus this naturalistic ornament was something new; later on we find it frequently on various vessels. The sima is decorated with triple horned lions' heads that are of the type of the Persian gryphon. This gryphon was considered by the Greeks as specifically Persian; the lion-gryphons appear complete on either side of the palmettes of both acroteria, and also painted on the saddle cover of the Persian on the northern narrow side of the tomb. Two lions act as corner acroteria. The roof is decorated with female heads crowned with rushes, which seems to be connected with the dancers in certain cults. The same heads occur along the top, but





FIG. 39. HEAD OF ALEXANDER.

here they alternate with eagles that are broken off and lost, except for some insignificant remains.

The whole is constructed of two massive blocks of Pentelican marble.

The relief on the back, Plate XXXVIII. (the principal group larger on Plate XXXIX.), shows a lion hunt in which Persians and Greeks take part. In the centre a man, by his clothes as in type of head (fig. 37) characterised as a Persian, is attacked by a lion. The lion, not very naturalistically treated, has sprung on the horse and is lacerating the latter's chest. The Persian points his spear at the beast. This spear was of metal and separately affixed; it is together with all other metal objects (weapons, clasps, etc.) lost. Five men come to the help of the Persian in distress, another Persian on foot who aims a blow at the lion with an axe being the first. As in the case of the rider the Persian costume is here quite distinct; it consists of tight coloured trousers and coat with narrow sleeves and a mantle, also provided with sleeves, which, however, is not put on; it is the "Candys" that



flutters in the wind and is only worn properly, with the arms in the sleeves, on parade before the king. (Cf. Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, 8, 3, 10). The head is wrapped in a soft "tiara" which covers the lower part of the face almost to the nose. Two horsemen in Greek dress hasten to the aid of the Persian with spears (now missing). They wear chiton and chlamys, the left-hand one has tight sleeves to his chiton. This rider wears a band in his hair which distinguishes him from the other; his face is full of energy and strength, but without any really individual portrait features (see fig. 38). In fact his features are those of the typical Heracles of Attic art. There certainly can be no question of a resemblance to the individual features of reliable portraits of Alexander the Great. The growth of the hair is utterly different and is typical for athletes and Heracles.

Yet it is highly probable that the rider on the left of the Persian is intended for Alexander the Great, for this reason. On the other side of the sarcophagus (Plate XXXVII.) is a figure that, though it bears no more resemblance to Alexander than the first, is yet recognisable by the lion's head and on account of the subject. A great battle between the Macedonians and the Persians is there represented, and Alexander is obvious by the lionskin (head, fig. 39). But this also gives the clue to the source whence the artist has obtained his notion of the appearance of the great king. Not from actual portraits—or he had never produced such a poor likeness—but from the coins of Alexander with the youthful head of Heracles. We know that this was considered a portrait of Alexander in Hellenistic times; but this sarcophagus shows that the popular error goes back to the time of Alexander himself. The Heracles head on the coins was not in the least intended for a portrait of Alexander, but merely represented the normal type of Heracles in the Alexandrine period; only through misunderstanding did it come to be



FIG. 40. HEAD OF A PERSIAN.

regarded as a portrait of the king, of whom it was known that he liked to identify himself with Heracles and sometimes appeared with the lionskin and club (Ephippos in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai*, xii. p. 537 *et seq.*).

The fact that the artists at work on the sarcophagus were not acquainted with actual portraits of Alexander and presumably used that on the coins is also of great importance in that it shows that those who looked for the artists in the circle of Lysippus were on a false track. This mistake was formerly quite general and the only doubt was between the two chief pupils of Lysippus, Euthycrates and Eutychides. But artists in the Lysippan circle would be perfectly familiar



FIG. 41. BATTLE GROUP FROM THE FRONT OF THE ALEXANDER SARCOPHAGUS.

with actual portraits of Alexander, for which Lysippus was famous. In addition to this it would not be customary to commission a decorative work like our sarcophagus from Lysippus and his school who practised the higher art of casting in bronze. On the other hand, some Attic studios were purposely adapted for this kind of work. So that as the material of the sarcophagus is Attic marble we can no longer doubt that the artists also belonged to the Attic school. The style of the sculpture supports this assumption most decidedly. The invention of motives and the execution of detail, particularly in the heads and the drapery, shows that the artists were the immediate followers of the Attic masters who adorned the tomb of King Mausolus at Halicarnassus with their marble work. At the same time we must refrain from thinking of one of the great names; to Leochares, for example, who had portrayed Alexander himself, the representations on this sarcophagus are not to be attributed.

There is a sarcophagus in the museum at Vienna which in execution is related to the Sidonian, and must have originated in the same Attic circle. It represents battles with Amazons.



FIG. 42. HEAD OF A PERSIAN.

While it was falsely believed that the marble of this Viennese sarcophagus was Peloponnesian there was some support for the theory that the Alexandrine sarcophagus was of the same origin. But this Vienna coffin came, as has been recently proved, from Soloi in Cyprus, and its marble is not Peloponnesian but Pentelican like that of the Sidonian. Both works sprang from the same group of Attic artists who were at work on commissions for the East.

But let us return to the consideration of the hunting scene on this Sidonian sarcophagus. The other horseman who gallops up from the right must be a companion of Alexander; to designate him with certainty as Hephaestion or Craterus is going too far, for the artist has not in any way individualised him; he has given him a head of a general athletic type, the same as he has used for the youth following him on the right.

The figures at the left extremity of the relief are still connected with the central scene. Behind Alexander a nude figure hurries to help with a piece of drapery over his arm.





SO-CALLED ALEXANDER SARCOPHAGUS. BACK VIEW

CONSTANTINOPLE







FIG. 43. HEAD OF A MACEDONIAN.

The action of running is admirably seized. No less excellent in action is the next figure, the Persian with the bow. With his left hand he holds the bow, with his right he pulls the string; the sleeves of the *candys* flutter behind him. At the right-hand end are another Greek and Persian, but not connected with the main incident. Here is a separate incident, the slaying of a stag. The latter is seized by the Greek youth in the *chlamys* and threatened with the (lost) spear; the movement is more graceful than convincing. The Persian swings his axe in an action similar to that of him behind the lion. His pose exactly corresponds to that of the archer at the other end, and gives to the whole picture a

symmetrical balance. Three hounds, one of which has the lion by the hind-leg, complete the picture of a lion hunt in which Alexander the Great appears as the companion of a Persian noble.

Both human and animal figures are executed with the same delicacy and completeness; the heads are full of animation and excitement. The effect is greatly increased by the painting which is almost completely preserved. It extends to the whole of the draperies, the hair, the eyes with eyebrows and lashes, and the lips. The flesh, on the other hand, is not painted, only tinted. Six colours have been used—violet, purple, red, red-brown, yellow, and blue. Particularly effective is the painting of the eyes in which the artist has attained an extraordinary force and intensity (fig. 40). We realise in this example what we have lost in that the painting of the antique marbles has as a rule disappeared.

The principal side of the sarcophagus (Plate XXXVII.) represents a great battle between Persians and Macedonians (the central group is also shown on fig. 41), in which Alexander and two companions on horseback occupy the two extremities and the centre. The crowd of figures who are sometimes three deep gives an admirable impression of the tumult of the fray. The relief achieves in this respect a pictorial perspective in the background which was at that time quite new. While the relief at the back is treated in the traditional manner of the frieze, here something new is attempted.

The figure of Alexander with the lionskin has been already described. He is directing his spear (missing) at a distinguished Persian, whose horse is down on its knees, who is defending himself with the weapon in his right hand (the head of this Persian is shown on fig. 42). A similar group appears on the famous Neapolitan mosaic from Pompeii,

which is copied from a painting of the Alexandrine period. A comparison shows, however, that the artist of the sarcophagus has divested the scene, which must have been known to him, of its individual character. The sarcophagus is altogether generalised and idealised in comparison with the historical and detailed accuracy of the picture copied in mosaic.

On the right follows a fight between a Persian and a Macedonian. Behind the latter a Persian archer aims in the direction of Alexander. In the foreground a Persian begs for quarter from a mounted Macedonian, in whose generalised youthful head the portraits of Philotas, Hephaestion, or Craterus have been mistakenly perceived. An almost naked young Greek seizes the bridle of a galloping Persian (his nudity is another sign of the general heroic character of the scene), while in the foreground a Persian shoots his bow towards the right, whence a Macedonian with a determined mien and in full armour rides up (fig. 43). Here again a portrait has been supposed and the elderly man has been called Parmenion, the most noted general of Alexander. Between is the fine group in which a Persian on foot snatches a wounded companion from his horse. Besides the above-mentioned figures there are four fallen Persians and a dead naked Greek on the ground.

The narrow sides of the sarcophagus are composed in the simpler style of the back. They repeat the same theme, but without Alexander and more prominence to the Persians. The northern side shows another struggle between Persians and Macedonians. A Persian chief on horseback forms the central incident. Both Macedonians and Greeks are here, contrary to reality, but in accordance with the heroic style, represented nude.

The southern narrow side shows another hunting party, but composed of Persians alone; this time the hunted animal

is a panther. Both pediments contain reliefs, on one side a battle between Persians and Greeks (Alexander has been identified here but obviously wrongly), on the other side an encounter between men in Greek costume, presumably Macedonians and Greeks.

The last-mentioned scene has been thought to illustrate all the murderous deeds of the time of Alexander and the Diadochi; but in our opinion the explanation of all the reliefs has gone astray by starting from the false premise, that the pictures represent definite incidents from the life of the person for whom the sarcophagus was destined. Starting from this assumption every commentator has busied himself with finding an historical name for as many of the figures in the reliefs as possible.

Thus one interpretation recognises with great certainty the Greek Laomedon of Mitylene as the "lord of the tomb," who would then be shown by the artist at one time in Persian costume and provided with a moustache and at another in Macedonian dress with a clean-shaven face! Indeed the sarcophagus has been thought to contain such an accurate illustration of the life of this Laomedon that it has been called a "new historical source" for details of the history of the Diadochi! Another interpretation gives Cophen, the son of Artabazus, a distinguished Persian, as the "lord of the tomb," and considers the reliefs as accurate illustrations of the life of this man. These are all worthless fancies, and arise from a complete misunderstanding of the artistic character of the monument.

We have already noticed that Alexander is represented on the two long panels. This identification, which took place immediately after the discovery, is in our opinion the only one that is justified. All the other figures are not only nameless for us, but probably were so for the artist himself.

The presence of Alexander certainly gives an historical



PLATE XXXIX



SO-CALLED ALEXANDER SARCOPHAGUS. LION HUNT, GROUP FROM THE BACK  
CONSTANTINOPLF



character to the reliefs; but they are historical in a very narrow but typically Greek sense, a general, broad, idealised history. Alexander is the only actual individual that appears here, and he seemed even to his contemporaries as a sort of demi-god; beside him are only representatives of classes, no persons. It is useless to try to give a name to the battle as that of Issus or Arbela, to distinguish individual Macedonians and Persians, or to recognise in one of them the "lord of the tomb;" the artist has merely aimed at a representation of a battle between Alexander and the Persians in a truly Hellenic generalised manner. The hunting scene shows Alexander after the conquest of the Persians: he consorts in a friendly manner with Persian nobles and joins in their hunting expeditions; this picture, too, is of a typical and general character. Persian nobles hunting, battles between Persians and Macedonians and Greeks, together with those between Greeks and Macedonians (these are shown in the small reliefs), all combine to give a picture of the life of the time, but with typical and not individual figures, with general incidents and the introduction of unhistorical heroic treatment of dress.

Did the sarcophagus really illustrate events accurately in time and place as has been suggested, in complete defiance of the principles of Greek art, it would be in opposition to everything that we know of the style of Greek tombs; only if the historical is translated into typically general terms does this sarcophagus take its place in the history of art.

The pictures show unequivocally that the aim of the artist was not the representation of Greeks and Macedonians, but of Persian nobles of the time of Alexander, hunting and fighting. The decorative ornament of the coffin corresponds with this in its constant use of the Persian gryphon. And this fits particularly the designation of the sarcophagus as deduced from the place of its discovery.

This last has been the subject of a lively controversy. At first it was even assumed that the sarcophagus was destined for Alexander the Great himself; then a Macedonian general was suggested, as Parmenion or Perdikkas, or a Syrian governor, or, lastly, a distinguished Persian like Artabazus or Mazaïos, as it was assumed that the sarcophagus was intended for Egypt or Babylonia, and only by some accident, such as sale or robbery, arrived in the place of its discovery at Sidon. This assumption is quite arbitrary and indefensible. Everything points to the fact that the sarcophagus was executed for the place in which it was discovered.

It stood in a spacious burial chamber together with three others, apparently the work of the same hand as the large one; they are decorated with pure ornament, the delightful frieze of vine leaves appears on all. On two of them there are Phœnician letters to mark the position of the cover; this shows that the execution of the sarcophagi took place on the spot, where the Attic masters employed Phœnician stone masons for the mechanical part of the work. This explains their wonderful preservation, which would be difficult to account for unless they came direct from the workshop to the sepulchre. The latter is the most recent of seven chambers which lead out from the same shaft; the consecutive arrangement of these chambers can be distinctly traced, it is in full accord with the order of the seventeen sarcophagi according to their style. The whole plan is arranged with careful regard to an older grave in close proximity, on the coffin of which is an inscription with the name of a Sidonian king, Tabnit, who lived about the end of the sixth century B.C. The tombs lie all together on an hereditary burial ground; according to the inscription of the oldest it is the vault of the kings of Sidon. The absence of inscriptions on the other coffins cannot be adduced as evidence to the contrary, as they are more recent, and the

custom of putting inscriptions on underground tombs will have fallen into disuse. Still less important is the absence of the golden diadem; the gold band on the tomb of Tabnit is not a symbol of royalty, but an ornament usual in that period which occurs on many other (not royal) tombs. The so-called Alexander sarcophagus is therefore to be regarded as that of a Sidonian king. It is, together with three smaller contemporary coffins, the last and most recent in the collection; it must be that of Abdalonymus, the last king of the Sidonian dynasty. This well-defended proposition of a German scholar, Franz Studniczka, is most probably correct. The recent decision of the date of the sarcophagus (which is then attributed to a rich Sidonian merchant who had bought it second hand) by means of a didrachma of Ptolemaeus Soter of about 230-217 discovered on the floor of the burial chamber is a mistake. For this coin can only give a "terminus ante quem." As the burial chamber must certainly have been visited at least by grave-robbers there is nothing surprising in this discovery. Abdalonymus was set upon the throne of his fathers by Hephaestion at the bidding of Alexander about 333 B.C.; rich treasures and an extension of territory were given him at the same time.<sup>1</sup>

Besides this we only know of him that he once sent some exquisite perfume (μύρον) to Alexander. Great deeds he certainly did not achieve. It were a mistake, on the lines of the false premises referred to above, to recognise scenes from his life on the sarcophagus. He himself does not appear in the reliefs, the aim of which is more general. We have also already remarked that the orientals there represented are purely Persian in type and costume and not Semitic. But the nobility, so to speak, to which class the Sidonian king was reckoned, were the distinguished Persians who surrounded the king, the class in which his predecessors were honoured

<sup>1</sup> Curtius Rufus, *History of Alexander the Great*, iv. 1, 16-26.



with a high place. To depict this class in the condition brought about by the conquest of Alexander was the task of the Greek artist. The Sidonian prince thus receives a distinguished decoration on his tomb, which bears little relation to him personally, but which characterises the class to which he was proud to belong. But as at that time this class received its light from Alexander, as from the sun, so his figure could not be left out of the reliefs.<sup>1</sup>

In giving the commission for his tomb to a Greek, the Sidonian king only followed the tradition of his house. Discoveries have demonstrated that his forefathers and all the distinguished Phoenicians from the fifth century always employed Greeks for their tombs, who for a long time had to follow the Egyptian form, but later were allowed to use their own Greek style quite freely.

The artist has approached his task in a thoroughly Greek spirit. Ignoring all that is small and personal, with only a broad generalisation in his mind, he has given us an idea of the history of his time from the point of view of one of the great men of the east, conquered by Alexander and willingly recognising him as his lord.

We do not know when Abdalonymus died. The extremely unsettled condition of Syria, the style of the sculpture and the portrait of Alexander being executed without acquaintance with a genuine likeness, and finally the contents of the reliefs all speak for a relatively early date for the sarcophagus, perhaps even in the lifetime of Alexander. It is also not impossible that the Sidonian ruler, like Mausolus of Halicarnassus, chose his tomb during his reign and had it completed under his own personal supervision.

<sup>1</sup> This also accounts for the introduction of the fights between Greeks and Macedonians, which might well seem to the artist appropriate to the completion of a general picture of the time (cf. p. 145).

## VII

### GROUPS

GREEK sculpture in the round developed in the fourth century B.C., and in a greater degree in Hellenistic times, a marked extension of subject matter. Whilst the subjects of earlier times were with few exceptions immediately connected with religion, with daily life, or the cult of the tombs, there now grew up in the flourishing commercial towns of Asia Minor and the islands, in the decoration of the palaces of Hellenistic princes, in their extensive parks and gardens, new tasks or a new treatment of old tasks. So there arose innumerable decorative works in the round that were either set up independently in the open or in relation to buildings. The subjects were taken partly from mythology and partly from the old heroic legends already familiar in paintings and reliefs, which had been kept alive by the old epic poetry and the drama, and were still treated in contemporary literature. As statues of this kind appealed to the artistic taste of the Romans, and were suitable for the decoration of private villas and gardens, or for public places like the *Thermae* and the theatres, many Greek originals found their way to Rome or were copied there, so that a large number of works of this kind have been preserved. The legends represented lent themselves to treatment in animated groups, in which a powerful sense of the dramatic is revealed. It is true that two or more figures were sometimes combined in archaic sculpture, but only placed side by side or facing one another, or loosely connected. The representation of complete groups in the round either separately or as parts of a cycle,

formerly only found on the pediments and acroteria of temples and rightly regarded as the most difficult problem of sculpture, is the great achievement of Greek sculpture of the fourth century B.C. The groups of Irene and Plutus (Plate XXI.) and Hermes and Dionysus (fig. 21) give an agreeable picture of the relations of children to adults, but do not exhibit a closely united composition. On the other hand, viewed from a purely artistic standpoint, the group of wrestlers at Florence belongs to this class though separated by its subject and destination (cf. p. 121). The earliest and at the same time the most artistically important of the examples here given is the meeting of Niobe and her youngest daughter (Plate XL.). This formed the centre of a group with the children hurrying up on both sides, which may have been set up in a temple of Apollo or Artemis or in a temple-like sepulchre in Asia Minor; as a plastic representation of the transitory nature of earthly happiness it would be most appropriate to a grave. The terrible story of the fall of this flourishing family is told by Homer in verse, dramatised by Aeschylus and Sophocles, and was already treated in the art of the fifth century B.C., so that it was kept alive in the memory of the people. The rescue of the body of Patroclus by Menelaus (Plate XLI.), a picture of true heroism, the Odysseus (Plate XLIII. and fig. 47) setting out on some adventure, together with the Laocoon (Plate XLII.), bring before us the battles of Ilion. The originals were probably fragments of an extensive Homeric cycle that were set up in a row or in associated groups. The Laocoon group, that only dates from about 50 B.C., bears throughout the impress of Hellenistic art. It probably occupied at one time a niche outside some building of a religious or secular character. And if the interpretation proposed by Winckelmann of the group by the artist Menelaus (Plate XLIV.) is right, we may assume that the scene of the meeting of Orestes and Electra at the



PLATE XL



NIOBE

UFFIZI, FLORENCE



grave of their father, so simple and moving and in close relation to the tragedies of Aeschylus and Sophocles, at one time adorned a Roman theatre. In its quiet and reverent character it forms a marked contrast to the animation and movement of the other groups; it is also separated from them in point of time, as the work is from an eclectic school working at Rome in the first century B.C. and A.D., which copied older Greek figures or arranged new groups from them.

“The divine treasure of Hellas, the ancient heroic legends,” the epos and drama have supplied the material for these groups of statuary. In reading Greek and Roman poetry they receive a new importance, sculpture and song illustrate each other. On artistic grounds these groups excite our admiration in their complete mastery over the technical difficulties of massing and architectural grouping of the figures, the choice of the impressive moment, and the restrained pathos in the expression of emotion, which remain an example for all times.

## PLATE XL

### NIOBE

*Marble Statue. Uffizi Gallery, Florence*

Niobe is with her youngest daughter; they have run to meet each other. The frightened daughter has sunk with arms outstretched at her mother's feet. The mother stoops and clasps her daughter to her with her right hand; with her left she raises her mantle to protect her child from the arrows that whiz through the air from above. For on high and invisible are Apollo and Artemis, slaying the children of Niobe to avenge their insulted mother.

Niobe, the daughter of Tantalus, honoured like him by intercourse with the gods, like him presumed, and insolently deemed herself superior to Leto, the mother of Apollo and Artemis, because she was blessed with a larger family. She must pay for her presumption with the loss of all her children. In speechless agony she turns her eyes to the sky whence the evil comes. The noble form that held itself erect among the gods is now bent low. She stoops before a superhuman power that beats over her like a storm. All the sorrows of this mortal world are united in her agonised upward glance.

The scene of the tragedy is a rocky mountain. The ground is uneven and slopes upward to the right. As the mother is hastening in this direction her youngest child throws herself in her way and holds her back. The child's body is half turned and her head fully turned towards the spectator. The figure is treated in the manner of a relief and is only meant to be seen broadly from the front. It forms the centre of a large group; from right and left the frightened children hasten to their mother, further off follow wounded and dying. The mother towers above them all. In proportion to her the children are all modelled too small, in order that she shall dominate the composition. The group never decorated a pediment nor was it set up quite free in the open, but was probably placed between the columns of some building, perhaps a tomb in Asia Minor, in the intercolumniation of a narrow peristyle near the wall of the cella.

Copies of a great part, but not of the whole group, have been preserved. The statue of Niobe and other parts of the group were found in 1583 at Rome, in the neighbourhood of the church of the Lateran on the Esquiline, where at the time of the empire the parks and villas of the nobles were situated. They are not very well executed, but may be regarded as fairly faithful copies. They are now in the Uffizi at Florence.



FIG. 44. HEAD OF NIOBE.

Pliny (*Naturalis Historia*, 36, 28) mentions the original as situated by the Temple of Apollo next to the Theatre of Marcellus on the Campus Martius at Rome. He reports that it was disputed whether it was by Scopas or Praxiteles. Thus in Rome the artist was no longer known. We may agree with the connoisseurs of that time in so far as the work certainly belongs to the schools of Scopas and Praxiteles and to the prime of Attic art in the fourth century B.C. The pathos expressed in the faces is peculiarly related to Scopas. But it is not likely that the group was really by either Scopas

or Praxiteles. It combines the styles of both artists and is therefore probably the work of a third unknown master, one of the many Attic artists then working in Asia Minor.<sup>1</sup> Thence the originals were brought to Rome by Sosius, probably consul in 32 B.C., who acted as legate under Antonius in Syria and Cilicia in 38; they were then dedicated in the Temple of Apollo restored after glorious victories in 35 B.C. It is possible that Ovid, who designed the *Metamorphoses* before his banishment in A.D. 8, was acquainted with these sculptures when he described the killing of the Niobids and the punishment of Niobe. And indeed not only does the description of the children struck down by an unseen hand (vi. 218, *et seq.*) remind us of the statues, particularly the lines (vi. 298, *et seq.*):

“(Filia) ultima restabat; quam toto corpore mater,  
Tota veste tegens, ‘Unam minimamque relinque!  
De multis minimam posco,’ clamavit, ‘et unam!’”<sup>2</sup>

bring to mind the mother with the youngest daughter. But at the most it is merely unconscious imitation. For apart from actual differences between poem and statue, Ovid shows elsewhere so much graphic power that he might quite well have composed that Metamorphosis direct from the traditional legend. Nevertheless the comparison between art and poetry is in this case particularly interesting, and each helps to the understanding and appreciation of the other.

<sup>1</sup> The most recent hypothesis places the origin of this statue somewhat later, about 300 B.C. The whole arrangement of the drapery of the Niobid in the Museo Chiaramonti of the Vatican, which is regarded as a Greek original, has its nearest analogies in early Hellenistic work.

<sup>2</sup> “Only the last remained, whom her mother with her whole body  
Quite in her garments enwrapped, ‘O leave me this one, the smallest!  
Of so many the least, I beg,’ she cried, ‘one only.’”





RESCUE OF THE BODY OF PATROCLUS BY MENELAUS

LOGGIA DEI LANZI, FLORENCE





## PLATE XLI

## PATROCLUS AND MENELAUS

*Marble group in the Loggia dei Lanzi at Florence*

This over life-size group was discovered in the sixteenth century at Rome on the other side of the Tiber before the Porta Portese, the ancient Portuensis, out of which led the road to the harbour Portus established by the Emperor Claudius. Only the lower part of the group was preserved, but it has been restored<sup>1</sup> after a reproduction also in Florence in the Pitti Palace. It was bought by Cosimo I. de Medici in 1570. At first set up at the foot of the Ponte Vecchio not far from the Pitti Palace, it found later a place of honour in the centre of the Loggia dei Lanzi on the Piazza Signoria among ancient and modern works, some of them very famous.

An uncommonly strongly built, bearded warrior strides forward; his helmet is decorated with reliefs of centaurs and lapithae and with two eagles with outspread wings; he wears a chiton open at the side to give freedom of action and a sword belt over his shoulder. He holds his right arm across the body of a slender youth, whom, mortally wounded under the left breast and despoiled of armour and clothing, he endeavours to carry away from the tumult of the battle and the power of the enemy. The youth has fallen on his knees, his left arm hangs limp, his right lies on the left arm of his friend, who on his part supports the dead man with this arm also. The head of the rescuer turned to the side and back in the direction of the pursuing enemy is full of passionate excitement, his mouth open and crying for help,

<sup>1</sup> The reproduction is from the completed cast in Dresden which, according to other replicas, shows the correct pose of the head and arm; in the original the former is lowered after the copy in the Pitti Palace.

his eye full of sorrow and anxious care for the fate of his fallen comrade. The curly head of the youth hangs down helpless, his features still preserve the appearance of life. The rendering of the dead body is in itself a masterful piece of sculpture, the result of careful study from an actual corpse or from a model. Both figures arouse in the highest degree the sympathy of the spectator.

The interpretation has been much disputed and even to-day is not generally agreed upon, though it has never been doubted that it is to be sought in the story of Troy. For a long time, on account of a passage in the little *Iliad* (*Epicorum graecorum fragmenta coll.* Kinkel i. p. 39, fragm. 2), the dead man was held to be Achilles and the rescuer Ajax. But it has been observed that in a fragment of a copy preserved in the Vatican the youth shows two wounds—one as in our group and another in the back between the shoulders—and this is considered a more faithful copy of the original. Thus the rescue of Patroclus by Menelaus has been recognised, as the former (*Iliad*, xvi., 806 *et seq.* and xvi. 821 *et seq.*) was mortally wounded in these very places. The high artistic worth of the statue can only be fully appreciated by a perusal of the sixteenth and particularly the seventeenth cantos of the *Iliad*. The limitations of sculpture have confined the artist to the representation of one incident from the varied scenes from the beginning of the fight to the burial of the corpse, but he has in a free treatment of the rescue of Patroclus by Menelaus summarised the contents of the seventeenth canto.<sup>1</sup>

The original work, whose fame and popularity is borne out by several sometimes excellent copies, mostly Roman,<sup>2</sup> in

<sup>1</sup> The incident suggests *Iliad*, xvii., 580, and xvii., 588 *et seq.*; but it is very improbable that the artist had these particular moments in his mind and illustrated them. The rape of the armour of Patroclus by Hector, which explains the complete nudity of the former in the statue, is related separately in *Iliad*, xvii., 122.

<sup>2</sup> The Pasquino group, after which the Pasquillo poem is named, set up in the open near the Palazzo Braschi in Rome, is well known. This admirable work is a Greek copy.

its naturalism and its strongly marked muscularity, has been compared with the Laocoon and connected with Pergamean art. It is also referred, on account of its general artistic excellence, its restraint in the expression of emotion, and the marked but not exaggerated development of the muscles, and finally on account of the beauty of the youthful figure which reminds us of the prime of Attic sculpture, to the last decades of the fourth century B.C. With regard to the treatment of the body of Menelaus, a resemblance to certain works of Lysippan style may be noted; while in the expression of the face of the hero a connection with the art of Scopas may be traced. A similar group is certainly not to be found in that period; also the emphasis on anatomy and the prominence given to the pathos of the situation point to a later period, so that the original was probably Hellenistic about the third century B.C. This date is most appropriate to the treatment of form and the psychological conception as expressed in the heads. To give a more accurate date from the style is not possible. Nor in the absence of written evidence and related monuments can the name of the artist be given or the occasion and place of its erection either as a separate work or in connection with other subjects from the *Iliad*. The worth of the work is contained in itself. The completeness of the composition, its compactness in spite of the contrast in action, and its pyramidal construction satisfy the eye, while the mind is seized and gripped by the dramatic subject, the sharp contrast in the situation and fate of both warriors, the act of heroic self-sacrifice, and the expression of psychological life. But this noble and powerful sculpture is also valuable because it brings before us the wars of Troy and awakens in our minds the memory of that glorious song, the Patrocleia.

## PLATE XLII

## THE LAOCOON

*Marble. Over life-size. Vatican Museum (Cortile del Belvedere), Rome*

The most famous work of antique sculpture came to light in 1506 on the Esquiline, in the vicinity of the *domus aurea* of Nero. It is the fortunately well-preserved<sup>1</sup> group identified forthwith as that representing the famous narrative of Vergil<sup>2</sup> and praised by Pliny the Elder,<sup>3</sup> the work of the Rhodian artists Hagesandrus, Polydorus, and Athenodorus. It was acquired by Pope Julius II. immediately after its discovery, and from the beginning aroused the enthusiasm of famous artists. Michael Angelo praised it as a miracle of art and it had, together with the work of this artist, a powerful if not always favourable influence on the art that followed; particularly on Baroque sculpture in the rendering of the nude. Since the group has been widely appreciated and honoured in learned essays by Goethe and Winckelmann, and by Lessing in a treatise concerning the limitations of art and poetry, the true standpoint for judging the work has been to a certain extent displaced, so that the subjective view

<sup>1</sup> Apart from unimportant restorations, the right arm of the Laocoon, the right hand and wrist of the elder, and the right arm of the younger son are incorrectly restored. The problem of the correct restoration has busied artists and archaeologists for some time. A version executed in the Albertinum at Dresden is shown in fig. 45. Professor Treu, to whom we are indebted for permission to reproduce this, does not consider the problem as definitely settled. The solution is now made easier by the discovery of the right arm of Laocoon from a somewhat reduced copy. A comparison of Plate XLII. with fig. 45 is interesting and, in view of the increased artistic understanding shown, instructive. They are typical examples of the old and the new restoration of antique sculpture.

<sup>2</sup> *Aeneid* ii. 199, *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Naturalis Historia*, 36, 37. As the house of Titus in which, according to Pliny, the work was set up was on the Palatine, it must have been removed.



PLATE XLII



LAOCOON

VATICAN, ROME





FIG. 45. THE LAOCOON. Restoration.  
Executed in the Albertinum, Dresden.

is given more prominence than in the case of almost any work of art of the first rank. But the task of the archaeologist is to settle the position of the work in its relation to other works of the same style, to judge its worth with a sober and unprejudiced eye.

The original place from which the work was brought to Rome cannot be ascertained. The date of the group has been

recently placed at about 50 B.C. in consideration of certain Rhodian inscriptions connected with the family of the artist, of which the date is fixed. The story here represented was treated in a similar manner in the fourth century, and later in an epos of the poet Euphorion<sup>1</sup> from Chalcis in Euboea, librarian at Antiochia in Syria at the time of King Antiochus the Great (224-187). The action takes place on consecrated ground not far from the sea. Laocoon, the Trojan priest of Apollo Thymbraeus, who during the apparent retreat of the Greeks from Troy is sacrificing to Poseidon in place of the slain priest of that god, is together with his sons strangled by two snakes sent from the sea, in punishment of a former desecration of the shrine of Apollo. The solution of the difficult problem of combining five living creatures in one group is facilitated by the manifold windings of the serpents. The altar on the edge of which Laocoon<sup>2</sup> has sunk and is held fast forms a foundation for the construction of the group and at the same time indicates the place where the action takes place. In the act of presenting the offering father and sons are suddenly attacked by the serpents. The choice of the significant moment and the transient nature of the action constitute a high artistic achievement. The complete unity of the work and the way it is built up in a triangular form is particularly admirable in the restored group. Admirable, too, is the extreme simplicity of the composition and freedom from excess of detail which, in spite of the apparent regularity of the whole, shows lively contrast of action and expression. In the almost entire absence of drapery the artist has given full play to his skill in the handling of the nude and thorough knowledge of anatomy.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Servius to Vergil, *Aeneid*, ii. 201.

<sup>2</sup> From a ridge round his head and remains of leaves behind the ears it has been concluded that he wore the laurel-wreath as priest of Apollo.



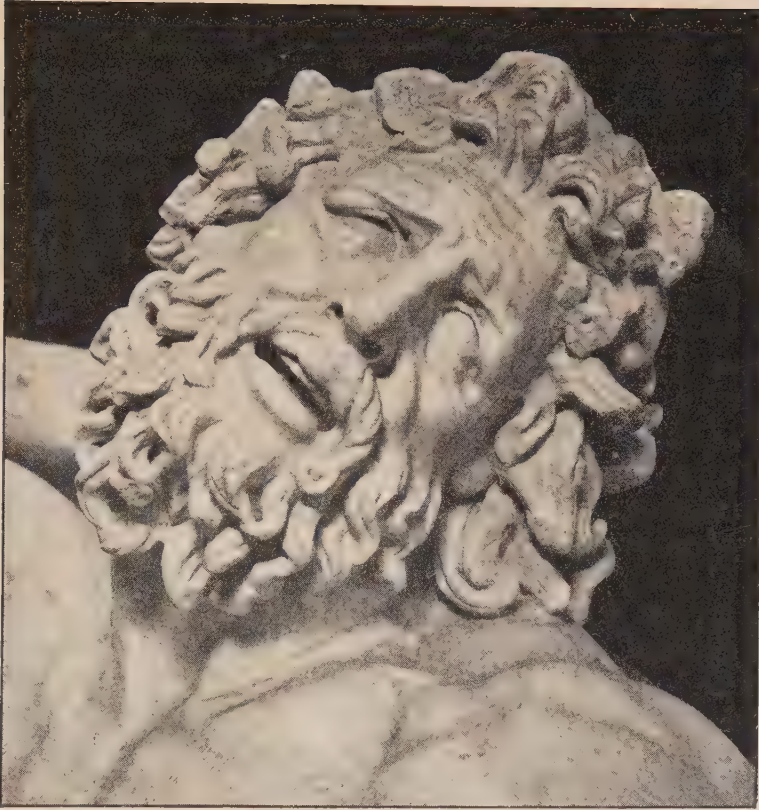


FIG. 46. HEAD OF THE LAOCOON.

Medical science flourished greatly in Alexandria and developed particularly after the time of Ptolemy. The sculptors seem, to the advantage of their technique, to have borrowed its accurate observation of anatomy and physiology. In comparison with these great qualities isolated inaccuracies of proportion, such as the extreme length of the left leg of the father and the shortening of the left leg of the elder son, may be regarded as the excesses of genius rather than as actual faults. The smallness of the boys is probably



intentional, in order to give the mighty figure of Laocoon greater prominence in the group. The almost obtrusive manner in which the sculptor exhibits his powers by emphasizing to an almost exaggerated degree the muscles of the body and the anguish of the soul cannot escape the observer. Our admiration is increased by a contemplation of the figures individually. The whole attitude of the father, a powerful man in the prime of life, is occasioned by the sudden bite of the snake. Laocoon, who with all the strength of his arms is struggling with the coil of the snake, involuntarily contracts his abdomen and presses his ribs up, throws back his head, and gives vent to a groan which we almost seem to hear from this life-like piece of marble. Pain is imprinted in every furrow of his face, even in the disordered hair and beard, but most of all in the upturned eyes. In this upward glance there is, in spite of the grief of a weak and helpless soul, a certain feeling of resignation, the expression of a great and steadfast spirit. This masterly mingling of bodily and spiritual suffering has always been commented on and admired. The elder son looks up in horror at the fate of his father. This rhythmic figure is to a certain extent free of the narrow bond which holds the group on account of a faint hope in the possibility of his release. The aspect of his face, quivering with pain, and the action of the hand seem to show that his thoughts are all of his father, scarcely at all of himself. We almost seem to hear the cry of pain and horror from out his open mouth (fig. 45). His head, like that of his father, is a characteristic example of powerful realism so typical of the art movement of that time. The younger brother, held firmly by the arm and leg, is incapable of further resistance, and shows in the head thrown back helpless misery and the approach of death. The bold lines of this figure make it a considerable achievement of sculpture in the round. It reflects, perhaps more than the other



PLATE XLIII



HEAD OF A STATUE OF ODYSSEUS  
THE DOGES' PALACE, VENICE

members of the group, the characteristics of the Hellenistic Baroque style.

The observant and critical eye running over different parts of the group constantly finds new qualities, new points of view. The beholder turns from details to the whole and then again to details. Thus he will find the truth of Winckelmann's assertion that the wise man will always find here something to examine, the artist something to learn; and he will appreciate the words with which Goethe introduces his famous essay on the Laocoon: "A true work of art, like a work of nature, remains for ever beyond our understanding. We look at it and we are sensitive to it. It makes its impression, but it is never really known." But we must not seek too much of the group, nor attribute motives to the artist which are undemonstrable or improbable. Then we are enabled to appreciate the work to the full and, undisturbed by outside considerations, realise its worth.

## PLATE XLIII

### ODYSSEUS

*Marble Statue. The Doges' Palace, Venice*

The head reproduced in the plate rests unbroken on the statue of Odysseus (fig. 47) in the archaeological museum of the Doges' Palace in Venice. It came there in 1584 from the Grimani collection. This excellent marble statue, half life-size (height 0.98 centimetres), is a carefully executed copy of the second century A.D. after a lost original of the third to the second century B.C., a Hellenistic work probably of bronze. The supporting tree trunk against the right leg is an introduction of the copyist. He has hung a coat of mail over the

tree, which has a very pleasing effect. This elegance and care in accessories is characteristic of the copies of the time of Hadrian and Antoninus. The round base, too, which although much patched is for the most part antique, is among the peculiarities of those copies. The legs, though broken, are essentially antique. The only important restoration is the right arm that together with the sword is quite new. Only the attachment of the upper arm is antique. The fore-arm must have been bent more in a forward direction, as the remains of a support on the right side of the body show. This must have at one time united the body with the fore-arm or the sword, that like the empty scabbard was also executed in marble. Of the sheath only the end is restored. The execution of weapons in marble, which were formerly separately affixed, is another characteristic of the period to which our copy belongs. In the left arm, only the hand and the end of the chlamys are modern. The head is, as already observed, unbroken and is admirably preserved, even to the nose which is only slightly damaged at the tip.

This work shared with others of the finest and best preserved of the antiques (like the Bolognese head of the Lemnia, figs. 7 and 8) the fate of being erroneously considered to be modern or at least entirely worked over. As a matter of fact it is quite excellently preserved, and not even the head is in the least degree worked over.

The hero is wearing the pilos, that was given him in later art as a sign of the wanderer and seaman; such a cap of felt was in reality worn by seamen. The pilos in this instance is not stiff and upright, but soft and close fitting. The chlamys is fastened on the right shoulder of the hero, the ends twisted round his left arm. The large round clasp on the right shoulder is adorned with a bust of Athena, the goddess who guided Odysseus through all his perilous adventures and whose favourite he was. (Cf. Homer, *Odyssey*, 13, 300, and





FIG. 47. MARBLE STATUE OF ODYSSEUS.

3, 218, *et seq.*) The goddess is represented with the Corinthian helmet and with the aegis on her breast. This detail is also of untouched antique workmanship, and it and the whole chlamys so correspond to the taste of the period in which the copy was executed, that we may consider the drapery and button as additions of the copyist in marble and the original bronze to have been quite nude. The empty sheath shows that Odysseus held the sword in the lost right hand.

Pausing a moment in his hasty stride he turns his head and raises his left arm; the cautious hero stays his steps, scent-

ing danger. He gazes piercingly into space. Breathless suspense holds him to the spot. The body is drawn in and the mouth opened as he holds his breath; the upper row of teeth is visible. The glance of the wide-open eyes is full of anxiety, the muscles of the forehead are contracted. He is not only looking, he is listening. Odysseus is not conceived in battle, but on an adventure which demands foresight and boldness, presence of mind and quickness of action; in fact, in just such a situation as fits the hero who united these qualities to an extraordinary degree.

What adventure the artist had in mind it is not possible to state with certainty. Perhaps there was another figure. It might be a group of Odysseus and Diomedes, as these two heroes were frequently represented together in antique art, notably in the adventure of the carrying off of the Palladium. Odysseus was then characterised by his prudence and foresight, and Diomed by his courage. There are indeed representations of this kind in which Odysseus appears very like this statue. He might be then on his way to steal the Palladium. But it seems more probable that he is on his way to the camp of Rhesus, on the adventure described in the Doloneia of the *Iliad*. Certainly the idea is: he is striding through the night, starts, listens, and looks about him with his sword drawn and ready.

The sculptor probably took his inspiration from painting. Subjects like this were treated in pictures long before they went over to sculpture. Hellenistic art itself, to which the original of our statue belongs, enlarged the subject matter of sculpture in the round by taking whole scenes from the heroic legends, which until then had only been represented in paintings. A group of the same type and tendency of Hellenistic art is the group of Menelaus rescuing the body of Patroclus (Plate XLI.), in which the bearded head of the hero is allied in style to our Odysseus. In the same way

there were probably fore-shadowings of the Laocoon (Plate XLII.) in painting.

Odysseus wears a short vigorous curly beard, and the crisp curls of his hair rise firmly from his forehead and cover the upper part of his ears. At the back the hair is rather short; this active hero has no flowing mane. The parting of the curls over the forehead is not in the centre, so that it gives an appearance of careless and not symmetrical dignity. With his curly black hair this Odysseus is a typical Southerner, as he is in character, while others of the Greek heroes seem to approach more to our Northern conceptions of a hero.

The artist has known how to indicate the crafty, experienced, clever side of Odysseus, and combined with it strength and quickness of action. This is shown by the well-modelled but not high forehead, the piercing glance, the strong, rather curved nose, the small eloquent mouth. Everything bespeaks not the inexperienced dreamer, not the thinker, but the active man tried in the most varied experiences of life; a psychological masterpiece, reflecting the power of the Homeric poetry, and the example of painting as well as the creative power of Hellenistic plastic art. For as the character of Odysseus is clearly drawn by the poet, so he lived in the minds of the people and so he appears here in art.

## PLATE XLIV

## ORESTES AND ELECTRA

*Marble Group by the artist Menelaus. Museo Nazionale, Rome*

This group was from the beginning of the seventeenth century in the Villa Ludovisi at Rome and only recently on the demolition of that villa taken to a new palace, the Museo Boncompagni. It is now in the Museo Nazionale. Nothing certain is known concerning its origin; that it was found on the site of the villa itself is only a surmise.

A tall female figure clasps that of a youth who is a head shorter than herself. The woman lays her right hand on the shoulder of the boy whose left is round her waist. Their outstretched arms are both restored, but they could not have been very different. The woman stands firmly with her weight on her right leg; her body is turned towards the youth, on whom she looks down with sympathy and affection. The youth pauses in his stride; he rests on the left leg, the right is drawn back in the action of walking; he is looking up at the woman. The intention of the artist was obviously to indicate that the youth is approaching the woman who was already on the spot. The embrace and tender glance suggests that it is a meeting after a long separation. In order to give as nearly as possible a front view of the figures they are not turned so directly towards one another as two persons meeting each other naturally would be. A parting, a farewell is not intended, and the interpretations of the group that start from this assumption are therefore false.

Two characteristic circumstances help towards a positive explanation. In the first place the difference of age

PLATE XLIV



ORESTES AND ELECTRA

NATIONAL MUSEUM, ROME





between the two individuals, the woman must be older than the youth; secondly, the short hair of the woman, she must be in mourning—women cut off their hair as a sign of mourning—and this circumstance must be very essential to the person in question, for the artist has made it her principal distinction.

The most suitable and the only correct interpretation that arises from these circumstances is that of Winckelmann: it is the meeting of Orestes and Electra at the grave of their father. Electra is the elder. She, herself grown up, rescued the child Orestes from Clytemnaestra on the death of Agamemnon. Still a youth, Orestes has returned to his home to avenge his father. It is very probable that they appeared on the stage in the same relative proportions as they have in this group; indeed the artist has presumably adopted this exaggerated difference in height from the stage, to the conventional style of which it is most appropriate. Electra is in mourning; she appears on the stage with the mask *κούριμος παρθένος*, that is, she has a mask with short hair; since her father's death she has not ceased to mourn, and this is the most important feature in her character and is insisted on by all the poets.

“After the first violent emotion of recognition follows a quieter joy, in which one tastes happiness and asks, ‘Is it thou indeed?’ This rare moment, when brother and sister long for confirmation of their happiness, to which circumstances give the greatest probability, although they parted from each other in such different forms, the group expresses in no uncertain way. . . . The youth looks anxiously up at his sister, she rests her eye more quietly on him, whereby her superior age is visible. . . . By her short hair she is recognisable as the unfortunate and, under pressure of her hard mother, independent and decided Electra.” These are the words in which Welcker has established the

interpretation of Winckelmann which he rightly calls the only correct one. To this may be added that, as Emil Braun has remarked, the marble support behind Orestes is not unintentionally given the unusual form of a stele; it indicates the grave of Agamemnon on which the tragic meeting takes place.

Otto Jahn proposed what he considered a better interpretation, that of Merope with her son. Although this interpretation has met with much approval, it must be rejected. Merope recognised her son just after she had raised the axe to slay him as the supposed murderer of this son. It is difficult to reconcile this violent situation with the firm and quiet demeanour of the female figure in this group. The close cut hair too does not fit the character of Merope. For though inwardly sorrowing for husband and children she is a princess and married to the reigning king; she would not appear on the stage as *κούριμος*, "with short hair,"<sup>1</sup> but must outwardly appear as queen. Finally, the story of Merope was never nearly as famous as that of Electra: the spectator in ancient times could only have thought of Electra. For the rest the other groups that belong to the same school as this were chiefly concerned with Orestes, Electra, and Pylades. On the other hand, there are no sculptures extant that can with certainty be said to refer to Merope.

The other interpretations of the group, Andromache and Astyanax, Penelope and Telemachus, Aethra and Demophon, Aethra and Theseus, Deianira and Hyllus, Iphigenia and Orestes, and the rest are scarcely worth mentioning.

The sculptor of the group has put his name on the support

<sup>1</sup> Although she is called "tristis" in Quintilian, 11, 3, 73, this proves nothing; in the passage referred to by Jahn "Merope" is only conjecture; it reads "Aerope in tragoedia tristis." It is sufficient to refer to the epigram of Nicomedes on a painting of Ophelion (*Anth. Pal.* 6, 316) to realise that this "tristis Aerope" (sad Aerope) was a recognised type.

against the leg of Orestes. There stands : Μενέλαος, Στεφάνου μαθητῆς ἐποίει. Stephanus, the teacher of the artist Menelaus, is known to us as a pupil of Pasiteles, who lived in the time of Pompey. So that Menelaus belongs to the beginning of the empire. He worked without doubt in Rome. The school to which he belonged usually copied older works or combined older single figures into groups. Probably our group arose in this way. There is in the Museo Torlonia in Rome a repetition of the female figure, but with an entirely different head. It is possible that Menelaus used for the female figure a model from the fourth century, and invented the composition, the type of head and the figure of Orestes. The drapery of Orestes agrees with this, as it is not Greek in form but is a favourite fashion of the time of the first Cæsar. The widely approved suggestion that the whole is a copy of a Greek grave monument, where mother and son are united on their last resting-place, is ingenious but cannot be proved.

## VIII

### HELLENISTIC ART

THE origin and development of Hellenistic art was to a great extent closely connected with the course of affairs of state after the death of Alexander the Great. The towns that in earlier times figured as the centres of artistic life, particularly Athens, passed into the background on account of their political weakness. The new residences of the realms of the Diadochi, Antiochia, Seleucia, and particularly Pergamus and Alexandria, and flourishing ports like Rhodes, became the centres of a new art movement very different in style and execution from the art of the past. For the increase of good living, the love of display, and altered taste gave many new opportunities to architecture, sculpture, and painting, and all the allied arts and crafts, in the erection and decoration of public buildings and gardens as well as the gorgeous establishments of wealthy private individuals.

In the most important sculpture of this period, the colossal size, the boldness of the composition, and at the same time the masterly technique and the modelling of the nude based on an accurate knowledge of anatomy, call for the highest admiration. The effective realism and dramatic depth of their representation of animated scenes and figures seize and stir the nerves of the spectator; whereas the aspect of the simple and noble sculptures of the Parthenon, the charming creations of Praxiteles, soothe his mood and charm his eye.

The distinguishing qualities of the style are united in what is artistically the most important work of this period, the Nike of Samothrace (fig. 48). It is generally regarded as a





FIG. 48. NIKE OF SAMOTHRACE (marble). Louvre, Paris.

votive offering of Demetrius Poliorcetes on the occasion of the victory in a sea-fight over Ptolemy,<sup>1</sup> 306 B.C., set up in the shrine of the Cabiri, famous in the time of the Diadochi. On the prow of a ship the tall slender goddess shares the tumult of the sea-battle and announces the victory with a blast of

<sup>1</sup> This date, which is based on a similar figure of the goddess on coins of Demetrius Poliorcetes, is by no means certain. The style of the drapery points rather to a late Hellenistic period.

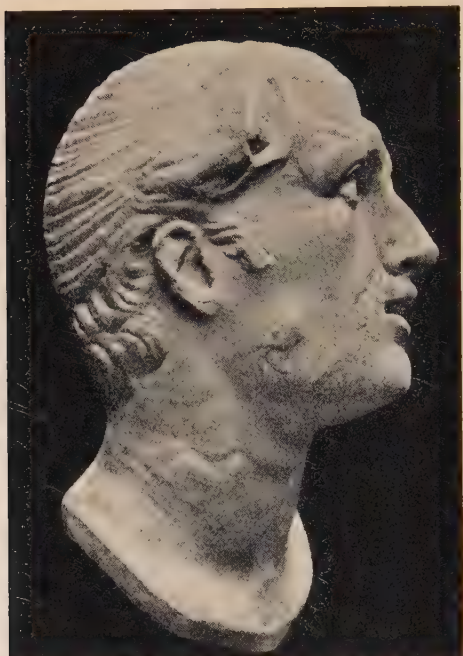


FIG. 49. HEAD OF A BARBARIAN (marble).  
Musée Royal du Cinquantenaire, Brussels.

the trumpet, which only stirs the fighters to a more passionate and battle-thirsty mood. According to an attempted restoration the left hand holds as sign of victory a standard of the enemy. The inspired conception, rhythmic action, the exquisite rendering of the drapery fluttering in the sea breeze, perfect modelling of the female form, and complete mastery of marble technique all combine to make this marvellous torso one of the greatest masterpieces of Greek sculpture, or indeed of all art.

The characteristic qualities of Hellenistic art appear distinctly in one of the most brilliant monuments, the reliefs of the Battles of the Giants from the Pergamean altar and also in the more recent though related group of the Laocoon (Plate XLII.). They are also recognisable to a certain



FIG. 50. MARBLE RELIEF REPRESENTING A FARMER DRIVING HIS COW TO MARKET.  
Good Roman copy of Hellenistic original. Glyptothek, Munich.

extent in the Menelaus with the body of Patroclus (Place XLI.) and in the head of Odysseus (Plate XLIII.). This highly dramatic artistic tendency reflects to a certain extent the powerful and forceful character of Hellenism and the personality of her princes, prominent in history, whose strong and energetic qualities are shown in their portraits (cf. fig. 59). It was the aim of these rulers to enhance their own fame and the glory of their rule by the erection of splendid and striking works of art. In this sense the extensive Pergamean monuments in memory of the conquest of the wild and warlike Galatians are to be understood. A copy of one of these is presumably preserved in the "Dying Gaul" (Plate XLVI., cf. also figs. 52 and 53). This is



FIG. 51. BRONZE HEAD OF A  
YOUNG SATYR.

A fine original of early Hellenistic  
times. Glyptothek, Munich.

an admirable example of the naturalistic art of the time and is particularly valuable as an intelligent conception and rendering of a foreign type. On this account, too, the small head of a Barbarian (fig. 49) is of interest. Unlike many characterless copies this head still retains the charm of the original. In style it is related to the older Pergamean school, and therefore belongs to the third century B.C.; but it is possible that this movement lasted on into the second and even the first century B.C.

"The head is from a battle group and belongs to a warrior, a fallen barbarian, who with a last effort of his failing strength strives to advance. His expression is full of energy, combined with the painful consciousness of defeat. The expression of the eyes is wonderfully telling, his wide-open mouth shows the upper teeth, his forehead is contracted over the eyes." There are signs of hair on his cheeks and upper lip. "His hair is short on the neck, but long on the crown. The long limp hair of the crown is combed from the left and back over to the right-hand side, and gathered over the right temple in a knot the point of which is unfortunately broken." Evidence shows that this fashion was Germanic<sup>1</sup> in quite early times, about the beginning of our way of reckoning, and later particularly characteristic of the Bastarnae. This statue has therefore been thought to represent a member of this tribe, and it is accepted that this nomadic people, who came from the upper

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Tacitus, *Germania*, 38.



Vistula, arrived about the end of the third and beginning of the fourth century B.C. in the Pontus district. At any rate they were firmly established in 184 B.C. at the mouth of the Danube, joined themselves to the Galatians, and with the latter fought against the Diadochi; perhaps they themselves fought with the Galatians. A powerful Hellenistic prince may have erected the monument in memory of some victory. It has been suggested that the monument celebrates the Roman victory over the great Mithradates in whose army the brave Bastarnae served. But these are all merely hypotheses. The work is characteristically Hellenistic and a good example of the dramatic power of this style.

Contemporary poetry had in many ways a strong influence on the subject matter of Hellenistic art. Besides the ancient legends that still lived in the minds of the people and were the subjects for poetry and sculpture (cf. Plates XLI. to XLIII.), many more remote myths, such as the lives and loves of the lesser gods of the Erotic, Bacchic, and Neptunic circles obtained great popularity through Alexandrian poetry and contemporary works of art (cf. also fig. 51). The Idyll, the original achievement of Hellenistic poetry, in which the varying phenomena of natural life, the doings gay and serious of the country people are lovingly observed and faithfully rendered, had its counterpart in the genre-like productions of Alexandrine art. Many subjects from the life of the people, the fisherman with his catch, the farmer driving his cow to market (fig. 50), and others were faithfully portrayed. The colossal statue of Father Nile (Plate XLV.), surrounded by playful children, owes its inspiration to a similar attitude, giving plastic form to a gay and pleasant idyll.



## PLATE XLV

## THE NILE

*Colossal marble statue. Vatican Museum, Rome*

This statue was probably discovered in Rome under Leo X. not far from the S. Maria sopra Minerva in 1513, together with a companion statue of the Tiber that is now in the Louvre. The two figures at one time adorned the shrine of Isis and Serapis in that district. The Nile is the finest representation of a river in antique times, a model of innumerable imitations up to quite recent times.

He is not conceived as an independent god; but as a symbol of his element: the whole is an allegory of the river. The powerful figure is reclining at full length, symbolising the quiet steady flow of the mighty stream. The sixteen children who play round him represent the sixteen ells that the river rises when it reaches its highest level and brings the greatest fertility. The horn of plenty in his left hand with its fruits and corn indicates this fertility of the valleys watered by his floods, the wreath on his head, the sheaf of corn in his right hand have the same significance. The home of the river is indicated by the sphinx, which serves as a support under the left arm; this figure represents Egypt in the same way as the she-wolf with Romulus and Remus signifies in the companion figure the home of the Tiber. The Egyptian stream is further indicated by the crocodile, with which some of the children on the left are playing. In the foreground by the left knee of the figure is an ichneumon that is about to attack the crocodile; the children are playing with this too.

The watery element is not only symbolised, it is itself



THE NILE.  
VATICAN MUSEUM, ROME



represented. It streams from the left-hand side of the statue and pours itself over the whole of the base. On the front side, which is the only side visible in our illustration, there is only water with a few water plants. On the other sides of the base there are in the water battles of Nile horses and crocodiles, pigmies on boats that are threatened by such beasts, ichneumon, crocodile, and waterfowl, and on the bank cattle grazing.

The climbing of the children shows the rise of the Nile.<sup>1</sup> They are much restored; in nearly all of them the upper part of the body is new and in some of them still more. Their arrangement around the figure is not only symbolically appropriate, but also artistically effective. The contour of the principal figure is not in any way injured by the children, in fact the broad surfaces gain by the contrast, and empty spaces such as those by the feet and between the arm and the body are successfully filled. The group is excellent in its composition, vitality of motive, poetic imagery, and healthy playful humour.

The well-preserved head of the river god wears an expression of quiet gentleness, as befits the mighty bringer of blessings. The flowing beard is modelled in wavy lines.

Our statue, that was modelled in Rome at the same time as its companion the Tiber, is a copy of an original executed in Alexandria most probably in the time of Ptolemy. This is shown quite apart from the conception itself, in the familiarity with the plant and animal life of Egypt and the primitive freshness of the whole. The amiable character of the little children is also typical of the Alexandrine epoch.

The allegorical conception of a river deity here carried out is foreign to Greek art before Alexander. This knew no reclining river gods resembling their element. These deities in older Greek art are not allegories of rivers, they do not

<sup>1</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 36, 58, etc.

represent a natural element, but are living persons in their faith like the other gods, whom they also resemble in their statues. The statue of the Nile is not only the finest, but probably also the oldest example of the reclining allegorical type of river god.

## PLATE XLVI

### THE DYING GAUL

*Marble statue. Capitoline Museum, Rome*

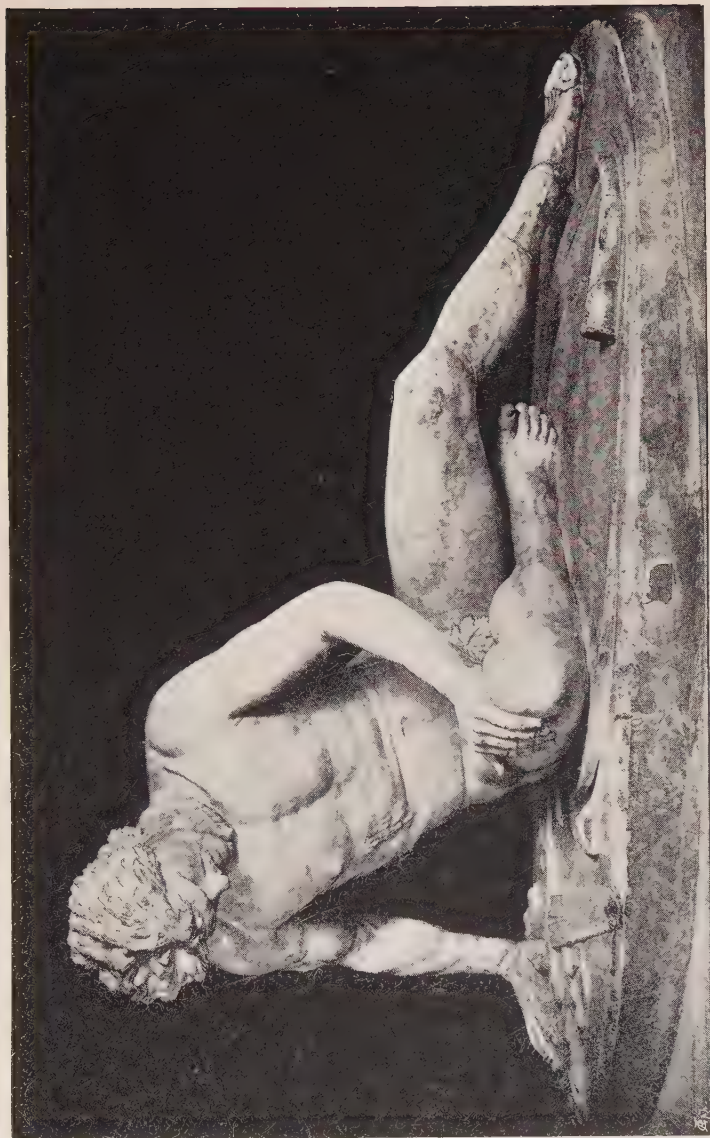
This statue has been for a long time well known and highly praised under the name of the Dying Gladiator. Of uncertain origin, it has been traced to have belonged as far back as the first half of the seventeenth century to the collection of the Villa Ludovisi, whence it came into the Capitoline Museum under Pope Clement XII.<sup>1</sup> It is not very well preserved. Apart from lesser restorations the sword sheath and belt, with the part of the base belonging to them, are all new; undoubtedly the end of the horn is wrongly introduced in this place as it can only finish in a mouthpiece. The right arm is genuine but broken.

A warrior mortally wounded below the right breast lies stretched out on a sloping base, as if he were modelled for the right-hand side of a pediment. He has fallen on his large oval shield, beside him lies his curved horn broken in

<sup>1</sup> The assumption that this figure and the "Gaul and his Wife" were found in the garden of Sallust, on the site of which the villa and park of Ludovisi stood, is not authenticated. The Galatian has killed his wife, who in the manner of barbarians has followed him to the fight, in order to save her from the pursuing enemy; he then thrusts his sword into his own throat to save himself from ignominy, turning his head full of fear and anger towards the foe. The expressive head (fig. 53) is a striking picture of tragic heroism and an artistic masterpiece of the Hellenistic epoch.



PLATE XLVI



THE DYING GAUL  
CAPITOLINE MUSEUM, ROME





FIG. 52. HEAD OF THE DYING GAUL.

two; the pose of his whole body, the supporting right arm with its out-turned hand, the contracted right leg firmly grasped by his left hand all express his struggle with the increasing pain of the wound. Helpless and broken in spirit he hangs his head, his face full of pain and sorrow, but still preserving its savage mien and bitter rage (fig. 52). The nationality of the wounded warrior is in spite of the idealising influence of Greek art unmistakably expressed. For the slim, supple, youthful figure, of unusual height, his strong hard flesh covered with a thick skin, his body quite nude, wearing only the metal neck chain (*torquis*), his irregular features and coarse hair clotted with grease, all combine to give a clear picture of the appearance of a Galatian according to the descriptions of the old writers.<sup>1</sup> Presumably the

<sup>1</sup> Polybius, *History*, ii. 29; Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, ii. 30; Livy, *Roman History*, vi. 7; Diodorus, *Library*, v. 27, *et seq.*; Pausanias, *Itinerary of Greece*, x. 19, *et seq.*

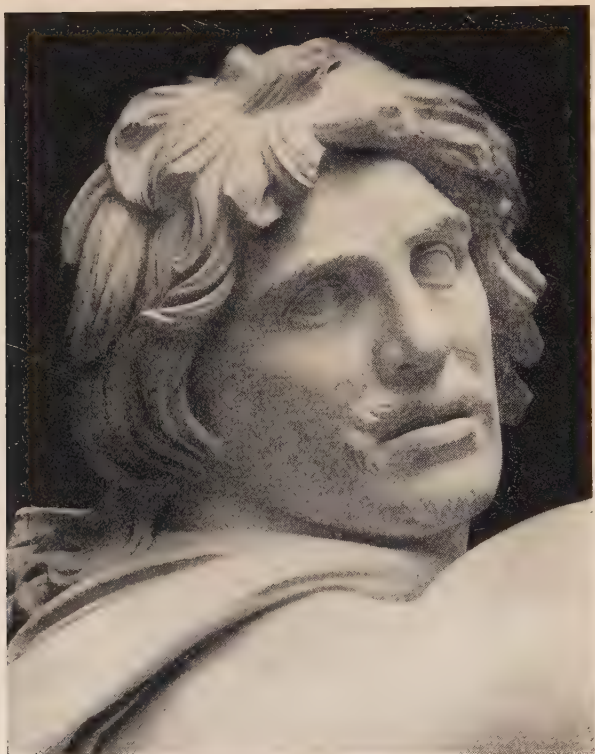


FIG. 53. HEAD OF GALATIAN.

From marble group "The Galatian and his Wife." Museo Nazionale, Rome. artist worked direct from a model of barbarian race or used a faithful copy from life. In any case it is a brilliant proof of the ability of Hellenistic art to create new types. We feel sympathy for the fainting hero, who in this last struggle still shows the inflexible bravery of his tribe. Mortally wounded in the battle, he has stolen a little way from the tumult, and there on his shield he breathes his last, gazing at the horn with which he roused his comrades to the fight, now broken in two. This picture is developed by the observation of this single figure by itself. A relationship between the famous group in the National Museum at

Rome, "The Gaul and his Wife," and the statue of the "Dying Gaul" has been inferred on account of the similarity of the subject and style; this inference is supported by the fact that they were both preserved in the Villa Ludovisi. Both works have been thought to be parts of an extensive battle monument that was erected in memory of victories over these warlike tribes; it is not decided if the originals themselves were preserved, or good contemporary or later copies in bronze. From the style of the marble the place of origin has been thought to be Asia Minor, and more recently Ephesus or Tralles. In this kind of marble the kings of Pergamus<sup>1</sup> celebrated their military successes against the Galatians. An immediate connection between these two monuments is not absolutely authenticated, but on account of the similarity of the representation and the style it is almost beyond doubt. That they were executed during the period of the war that lasted from the beginning of the reign of Attalus I. until 165 B.C. is quite possible. A more accurate date could only be reached by a knowledge of the occasion of their foundation, by definitely fixing the historical events to the immortalisation of which these sculptures were meant to contribute.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Attalus I. (241-197), Eumenes II. (197-159) (Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 34, 84. Inscriptions of Pergamus No. 20, *et seq.*). Neither remains of statues nor inscriptions from the bronze battle monuments mentioned by Pliny were discovered on the occasion of the Prussian excavations. Nevertheless their existence in Pergamus at some time or other may be regarded as certain. The monuments were either put up by Attalus and Eumenes at different times or all put up together by the latter ruler alone. A decision could be arrived at by more accurate chronological information about the bronze workers mentioned by Pliny—Isigonus, Pyromachus, Stratonicus, and Antigonus; this, however, is only possible in the case of Phyromacus and then only partly; he certainly worked under Eumenes, but he may also have worked under Attalus. The suggestion of "Epigonus" for the "Isigonus" of Pliny, 34, 84, is not verified, and so that it would seem that both artists worked on the monuments.

<sup>2</sup> Bases of monuments of this kind from the reign of Attalus have been discovered at Pergamus, which by reason of their inscriptions are datable; but their connection with the two works in Rome is not proved, even as their attribution to the old Pergamean school is not absolutely certain on grounds of style.



## IX

### HISTORICAL ART OF THE ROMANS

ACCORDING to ancient writers the beginnings of historical art among the Romans go back to the early days of the republic, about the end of the fourth or at any rate to the third century B.C. We are informed that in the second century particularly, victorious generals had their achievements in war immortalised by wall paintings in the temples, or in panels, which, dedicated in shrines or openly set up and explained to the people, were borne in triumphal processions. From short accounts of certain of these pictures we perceive that the foundation for the later development of Roman relief sculpture lay in these. Two frescoes recently discovered in tombs at Rome, one (about the end of the republic) of a continuous row of scenes from the early history of Rome, the other (probably from the second century B.C.) with pictures arranged one above the other of some warlike event not yet identified, remind us in form and the latter also in contents of this later relief sculpture, and give evidence in support of the literary accounts of the old Roman paintings. At the same time, in their plain and faithful rendering of facts, they are of great importance as comparatively early evidence of the strong historical sense of the Romans. But these slight relics of painting appear of small account beside the innumerable monuments from the beginning of the time of the Caesars until that of Constantine, which were erected in lasting memory of military successes in various parts of the world.



FIG. 54. MARBLE RELIEF FROM THE ARCH OF TRAJAN, BENEVENTO.  
The emperor offering up a sacrifice.

In Rome itself, apart from less important erections, there are three triumphal arches<sup>1</sup> and two columns<sup>2</sup> that to-day tower up as visible tokens of the Eternal City. Both styles of monument are to be regarded as high pedestals for the representation of the emperor to be set up on the summit, either as a single figure on the columns, or as the driver of a four-horse chariot on the arches. Both have the same origin, the glorification of the person of the ruler in war and peace. They both exhibit in their form and their sculptural decoration the mark of a thoroughly national character.<sup>3</sup> The architectural simplicity and noble symmetry of the triumphal arches, which on account of their decided outlines tell out boldly from their surroundings, make a highly pleasing and satisfying impression. In the case of the towering columns on the other hand, the unusual form and

<sup>1</sup> That of Titus (single), that of Septimius Severus and Constantine (triple).

<sup>2</sup> Those of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius.

<sup>3</sup> Phases of its development may be traced in Egyptian and Greek art.



FIG. 55. MARBLE RELIEF FROM THE TRAJAN COLUMN, ROME.  
A Dacian regiment attacking a Roman fortress.

immense height astonish at first, but do not achieve any permanent satisfaction. While in the first a division of the reliefs is made possible and overcrowding of the same difficult by the limitation and subdivision of the space, and a complete view of the whole is facilitated by the moderate height of the building, in the later the reliefs run in narrow stripes placed spirally from the bottom to a great height, and are only to a very small extent accessible to the eye.<sup>1</sup> The real worth of the sculptures, both of the arches and the columns, is in the contents of the reliefs, which illustrate and complete the history of the Caesars from literary sources. They are an invaluable source of information concerning the life and culture of the state, particularly military matters, manner of armament, encampment, fortification, etc., and finally about

<sup>1</sup> According to recent explanations, a papyrus, a painted picture-book without text, is here represented in marble. This is a probable conjecture that cannot be proved.





FIG. 56. SACRIFICE OF A SOW TO THE PENATES.  
Relief from the Ara Pacis. National Museum, Rome.

the conquered races (figs. 54-56). Their artistic importance varies according to the time of origin of the individual monuments. The reliefs of the Ara Pacis Augustae<sup>1</sup> (fig. 56) and the Arch of Titus are characterised by moderation in the treatment of the scenes, quiet and dignified appearance of the persons, and the excellence of the portraits. In the reliefs

<sup>1</sup> The Altar of Peace, which the Senate erected on the Campus Martius to celebrate the return of the "restitutor orbis Romani" from Spain and Gaul (*Monumentum Ancyranum*, ii. 37); the date of its dedication falls between the years 13-9 B.C. The scene (fig. 56) relates to Aeneas, the ancestor of Augustus. He is about to sacrifice a pregnant sow to the Penates brought from Troy, after his arrival in Latium. To indicate the gods for whom the sacrifice is intended the Temple of the Penates restored by the emperor, in which the former are represented as youths with spears in their hands, is with inoffensive anachronism introduced. The rite itself corresponds to the Roman type of such sacrifices. This cult of the Trojan Penates and the glorification of Aeneas was observed by Augustus and his time as a pledge of their mastery of the world.

of the Trajan column the eye is disturbed by the confused swarm of scenes and figures and, in spite of the invention displayed, the complete absence of a general view of the whole, and finally by the arrangement, borrowed from painting, of two or more rows one above the other.<sup>1</sup> Also the intentional prominence given to the deeds of the victor, the repression of the enemy, and brutality of subject become rather offensive. Great historical interest is attached to the life-like and characteristic representation of the barbarians on the reliefs of the Trajan and Marcus columns, in which there are individual figures of men and women who even in defeat preserve a certain heroic appearance. One of the finest works in the round of this kind (if the interpretation is correct) is the statue of a "Mourning Barbarian Woman" (Plate XLVII.), that perhaps figured as the personification of a conquered people in a triumphal monument erected in Rome at the beginning of the time of the Caesars. From the point of view of artistic conception and admirable rendering of a foreign nationality, it is a masterpiece.

## PLATE XLVII

### MOURNING BARBARIAN WOMAN

*Marble. Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence*

This well-preserved<sup>2</sup> statue, over life-size, has become well-known under the false name of "Thusnelda." Traceable in the first half of the sixteenth century to the collection of the Della Valle family, it came in the same century into the possession of the Medici and arrived later

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Plates XLVIII. and XLIX. examples of the reliefs of the Marcus column.

<sup>2</sup> Apart from lesser restorations, the whole of the right fore-arm is new.







STATUE OF A MOURNING BARBARIAN WOMAN

LOGGIA DEI LANZI, FLORENCE

in Florence, where in the Loggia dei Lanzi it has become deservedly famous. It is of the highest interest both from an artistic point of view and on account of its subject. The figure with its type of face that is neither Greek nor Roman has been rightly recognised as a mourning barbarian; but the generally accepted assumption that the statue as the personification of a conquered people adorned a triumphal monument at Rome cannot be proved in the absence of any account of its discovery or original destination. The possibility of an earlier origin, or of its being a copy of an ancient model of the Hellenistic period, still remains. The interpretation is favoured by the fact that similar figures appear beside a captured prince on the triumphal arch<sup>1</sup> at Arausio, to-day Orange, in Gallia Narbonensis, erected probably in the time of Tiberius. The Germanic women on the Marcus column have many points of similarity<sup>2</sup> in the matter of costume with the so-called Thusnelda, also the account of their characteristic dress in the well-known passage in the *Germania*<sup>3</sup> of Tacitus, so that the name "Gallia devicta" or "Germania devicta" is the nearest we can arrive at in the light of the evidence to hand,<sup>4</sup> though

<sup>1</sup> Also on a Roman sarcophagus with battles between Romans and Gauls, preserved at Palermo, and on the base of the arch of Constantine at Rome.

<sup>2</sup> On a relief at Trieste from Cula near Philadelphia in Lydia, which according to an inscription is in honour of Germanicus or Gaius, a similar figure is designated as Γερμανία ("Germania").

<sup>3</sup> Chap. 17. "... feminae ... lineis amictibus velantur ... partemque vestitus superioris in manicas non extendunt, nudaë brachia ac lacertos" ("... the women ... wrap themselves in linen ... they do not extend the upper part of the garment to sleeves, arm and fore-arm are bare;" the addition: "sed et proxima pars pectoris patet" ("but the adjacent part of the breast is free") does not mean, as in the "Thusnelda" and many other monuments, the baring of one side of the breast, but the exposure of the whole chest; this fashion is also shown in the costume of a German woman on the Marcus column. The covering of one breast may be a sign of mourning.

<sup>4</sup> The suggestion of some heroine of tragedy, not Greek, as Medea, and that it was part of the architectural decoration of a Roman theatre, cannot be verified in our ignorance of the original destination of the statue.

we must grant the possibility of some other conquered people being intended.

A tall powerfully-built woman stands before us in an easy pose; in her decided outlines she is like a slender column or a well-grown tree, and in simple symmetry of form most appropriate to some architectural purpose. A rhythmic action is given to the quiet pose by the crossed leg and varied pose of the arms and the contrast of the vertical and slanting lines of the drapery. Her clothing consists of thick-soled shoes, a long garment girdled at the waist which leaves the arms and the left breast free; a chlamys-like cloak, which falls over the right wrist, is drawn round at the back over the left shoulder and, tucked under the left arm, hangs down. The pose and expression of the head have been rightly much admired. The parted hair hangs in long strands down her back; in front one or two stray locks hanging over the forehead suggest the neglect due to sorrow. Her head is inclined towards her right hand raised to her chin, a frequent gesture of sorrow. The fine oval face expresses deep sadness, silent submission to the inevitable fate of the conquered, but still preserves a certain noble dignity, a spirit unbroken by conquest, that must have earned the esteem of the victor, and still stirs the observer whose eye rests for long on this picture of noble sorrow.

If the statue really represented a Roman original it would be a notable demonstration of the powers of Roman triumphal sculpture. But the figure shows the influence of a traditional type, the model for which goes back to the middle of the fourth century B.C. or even earlier. For the figure of the sorrowing woman appears on Attic tombs and again on the celebrated sarcophagus of the "Mourning Women" from Sidon in Constantinople in an almost precisely similar form. The original will have been used in Hellenistic times, perhaps at Pergamus, as the personification of con-





PLATE XLVIII



RELIEFS FROM THE COLUMN OF MARCUS AURELIUS

PIAZZA COLONNA, ROME

quered nations other than Greeks, and became the standard barbarian type in the time of the Romans for Greek artists or native artists under Greek influence in the sculptural decoration of their triumphal monuments.

## PLATES XLVIII. AND XLIX

### RELIEFS FROM THE COLUMN OF MARCUS AURELIUS AT ROME

#### *Piazza Colonna*

Two mighty columns still stand upright in Rome, covered with spiral bands of reliefs. Both relate to battles of Roman emperors with the sturdy tribes who threatened the empire from the north, from the Danube. Of more artistic importance is the column of Trajan, which celebrates victories over the Dacians; but on account of the subject that of Marcus Aurelius is of greater interest. It relates to battles with the Germanic people from the middle Danube during the so-called Marcomannic war.

Out of the long series of reliefs of the Marcus column, four examples are here given on two plates.

I. *The Miracle of the Rain*.—This relief is at the beginning of the long row. It is a famous one and the scene represented is fully recorded in our otherwise rather sparse accounts of the Marcomannic wars. The actual date of the occurrence is A.D. 174, though this has been wrongly doubted. It is with the events of the year 174 that the reliefs begin. They finish, however, as various circumstances go to prove, with the close of the war in 175. The erection of the column was in all probability decided on, and the decorations designed, on the occasion of the triumph over the Germani and the Sarmatæ celebrated by Marcus in 176.

The account of the miracle in 174 A.D. (Dio Cassius, 71, 8 *et seq.*) is given as follows. The Romans were advancing in the land of the Quadi when they were surrounded by the enemy and cut off from water. They suffered in the prevailing heat the horrors of thirst. Suddenly a thunderstorm bursts out, bringing help to the Romans and harm to the enemy. Saved from annihilation by thirst they achieve a brilliant victory. The emperor wrote to the Senate that as this un hoped-for help came from divine sources—he does not define it more exactly—he had no hesitation in accepting his acclamation by the host as seventh emperor without the preliminary approval of the Senate. In the relief only the natural phenomenon is personified, no actual god, but a figure typifying the rainstorm. In this the winged god of rain-bearing winds, Notus,<sup>1</sup> has been used as a foundation for the type. The rain itself is cleverly represented, streaming from beard and hair and arms in wavy lines. Notus is so enveloped in water that the whole figure seems about to dissolve. Below are seen staggering horses and dead Quadi, on the left some of the rescued Romans. “In narrow rocky valleys horses struggle with the rush of water, and the enemy are already disheartened by the storm. The whole is a stirring picture of the power of the elements.”

2. *Execution of Germanic nobles.*—Six men are being executed with the sword. Their hands are tied behind their backs. The heads of two lie already on the ground. Even those who carry out the sentence seem to be of Germanic type. In the background are Roman cavalry, who surround the place of execution. Probably the punishment of Germanic insurgents is intended. Those of the same race who have remained true to the Romans must perform the execution. The Germanic type is here clearly indicated by the long narrow faces and the long beards. The costume of

<sup>1</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, i. 264, *et seq.*



PLATE XLIX



RELIEFS FROM THE COLUMN OF MARCUS AURELIUS

PIAZZA COLONNA, ROME





the Germani consists, as always on the column, of narrow trousers, which are frequently their only garment, and sometimes a short coat and a sagum fastened on the shoulder.

3. *Roman Cavalry pursuing mounted Sarmatae*.—The principal opponents of the Romans in this war were, next to the Germani, the Sarmatae from the valley of the Tibiscus (Theiss). They were quite different from the Germani in appearance. They were a race of horsemen of excitable and passionate nature, but of humble and servile manners. Their heads are of an ignoble type with flattened noses; they wore their beards long on the chin, but shaved the cheeks. They wore, besides the trousers, always a tunic and frequently the sagum over it. Their weapon is the javelin. In this picture they are represented in full flight. One has fallen from his horse, which gallops on alone; he is despatched by a Roman. This figure has wrongly been held to represent a slave.

4. *A Germanic Prince taken prisoner*.—On the left is a high rocky hill. Two fettered Germani are conducted down the hillside by two Roman soldiers. The foremost figure has been particularly carefully executed by the artist. It is the finest and noblest Germanic type on the whole column. He might be King Ariogaesus, on whose capture Marcus Aurelius had set a high price (Dio Cassius, 71, 14). A third Roman soldier is driving the two sons of the captured prince before him. The fragments on the right and left are not immediately connected with this scene.

The types of the Germani and the Sarmatae are always clearly differentiated throughout the column. Incidentally other types appear, such as the Celtic Cotini.

The Roman legionaries wear the newly introduced lorica of steel bands, the auxiliary cohorts and the cavalry the shirt of mail.

The figures are, as on the Trajan column, so arranged that consecutive events are placed one above the other.

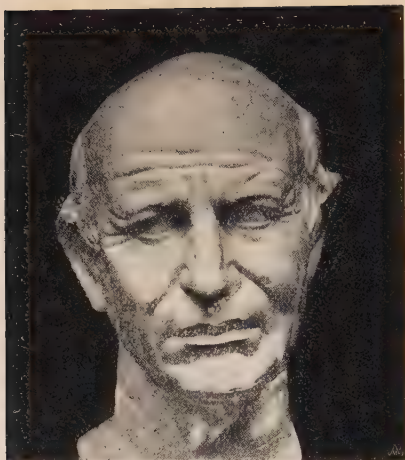


FIG. 57. AN OLD ROMAN (marble head).  
About the end of the Republic. Glyptothek, Munich.

## X

### GREEK AND ROMAN PORTRAITS

IN consequence of the constant demand for sculptural decorations on tombs, of the quite early custom of dedicating portraits of mortals to the gods, and, after the fourth century B.C., of erecting statues in honour of distinguished persons, the art of portraiture from early archaic until late Roman times attained such varied excellence that it must be placed on a level with the other branches of antique art. It is now by degrees beginning to be generally appreciated at its full worth. The reproductions here collected do not give a complete representation of its historic development, but they enable us to appreciate the art in some of its most brilliant examples. Only an exhaustive study can give an idea of their high artistic conception and the technical mastery of their execution. It is a particularly engrossing occupation to derive the mind and

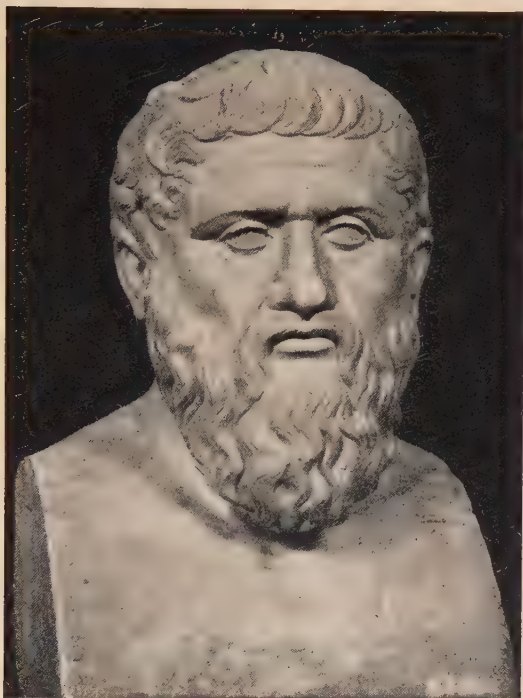


FIG. 58. PLATO FROM A HERM. Vatican, Rome.

character of the person represented from his portrait, and in the case of persons prominent in history and literature to compare their appearance with their actions and achievements. The exercise if carried out with the necessary caution opens out a rich source of knowledge.

The treatment of the beginnings of Greek portraiture lies outside the domain of this sketch. In order to recall the earliest attempts at the reproduction of human features, it is sufficient to refer to the masks of beaten gold discovered in Mycenaean tombs, which have been placed in the second half of the twentieth century before Christ. To a later time, between the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., belong a

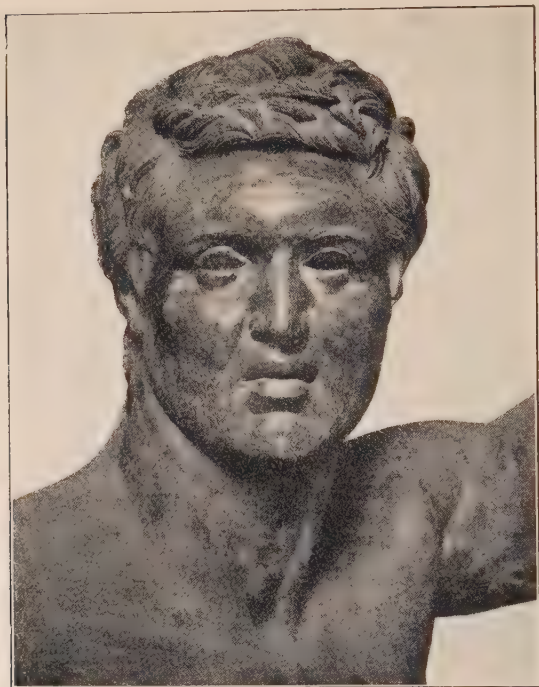


FIG. 59. HELLENISTIC GENERAL OR PRINCE.  
Head of a bronze statue. National Museum, Rome.

number of nude figures of youths of stiff upright carriage; though resembling Egyptian models in their general scheme, they differ from these rigid achievements of non-Greek art in the vitality of their facial expression and in the modelling of the figure, which shows signs of direct study from nature. It is true that an actual likeness in the features had not yet been attempted, the repetition of a traditional type being all that was aimed at. The classical example of this is the so-called Apollo of Tenea (Plate I.), a work from the school of Dipoinos and Scyllis, that was once set up over a tomb. In the sixth and fifth centuries ancient Attic art produced in its swift progress many creations full of vitality though still without individual character. Such are the female figures



FIG. 60. HELLENISTIC PRINCE, known as Antiochus III. of Syria.  
Marble head. Louvre, Paris.

dedicated to the goddess Athena that came to light not very long ago on the Acropolis at Athens (Plate II., figs. 1 and 2); also the famous stele of Aristion by the artist Aristocles, a faithful picture of Attic manhood of the end of the sixth century B.C.

When Greek art reached its highest point in the fifth century, portraiture was still content with this idealism and busied itself with the reproduction of artistically excellent but quite generalised types. This is recognisable in the reliefs from Attic tombs.

One of the most active and celebrated of the workers in bronze was Cresilas (second half of the fifth century B.C.). The copy of the head of his statue of Pericles (Plate L.) is a brilliant proof of the importance of this artist. In this



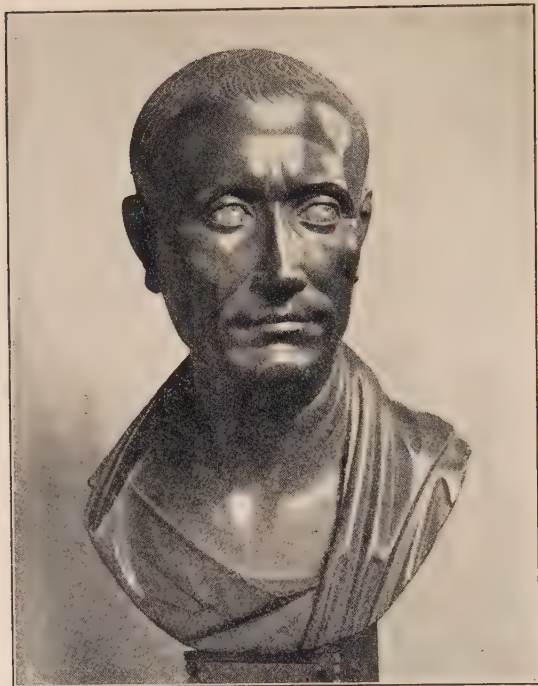


FIG. 61. BUST OF GREEN BASALT, known as Caesar.  
Once the property of Frederic the Great. Imp. Museum, Berlin.

head, stripped of all inessential details, we have the *καλὸς καγαθὸς ἀνὴρ*, the refined man of the world in perfection. Cresilas has not attempted a representation of an individual, but has created a strongly idealised portrait. In contrast to him stood the somewhat later Attic bronze worker Demetrius. According to literary records this artist aimed at absolute realism and earned the epithet "*ἄνθρωποποιός*," "modeller of men." Unfortunately it has not yet been possible to get a clear idea of his style from statues. The venerable Homer (fig. 72) is in the quiet distinguished style of Attic art of the last decades of the fifth century. The bust of the philosopher Plato, preserved in copies, gives us a clear idea of the qualities of the Athenian Silanion who

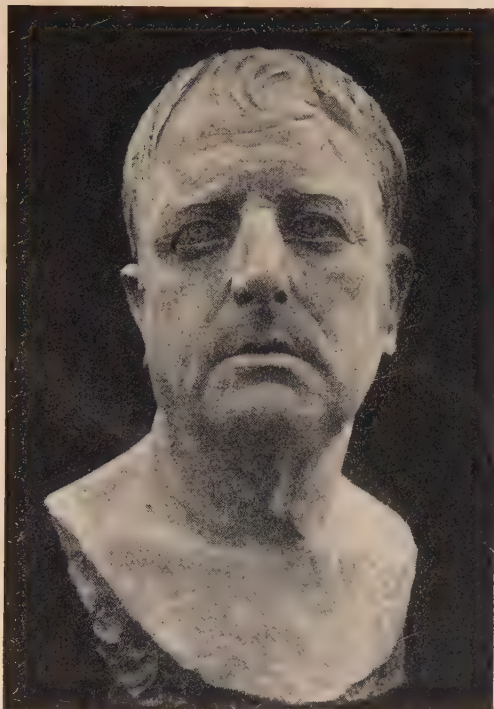


FIG. 62. TERRACOTTA HEAD OF AN OLD ROMAN.

From the second half of the last century B.C. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

worked in the middle of the fourth century B.C. (fig. 58). A simple, almost insipid conception, an honourable truth to nature without any intentional expression of spiritual importance, characterise the portraits of distinguished persons of this master and others of the same school (cf. Socrates in the older type, fig. 69). This movement is particularly valuable, because it gives the literal truth. Thus the uninspired portrait of Plato presents a strong contrast to the impression that one forms from the writings of the deeply spiritual poet-philosopher and charming stylist. A further phase of development that followed was influenced by philosophical study and aimed at the interpretation of inward



FIG. 63. MARBLE HEAD OF A ROMAN MATRON.  
Sometimes called Agrippina the younger, but usually Agrippina the elder.  
Glyptothek Ny-Carlsberg, Copenhagen.

qualities. "The sculptor should give expression to the activity of the soul," as Socrates once insisted to an artist. This demand was satisfied in the portraiture of the fourth century B.C. and the following period. It was the custom then to represent poets and philosophers in such a way as to suggest their permanent spiritual importance; true to nature or to accurate copies, but without insisting on accidental details of external appearance. The imaginative statue of Sophocles (Plate LI.) and the herms of the philosophical thinker Euripides (Plate LII.) and Socrates, full of humour (Plate LIII.), are to be looked at in this light. The poetically inspired head of the blind singer Homer (Plate LVI.), a fine

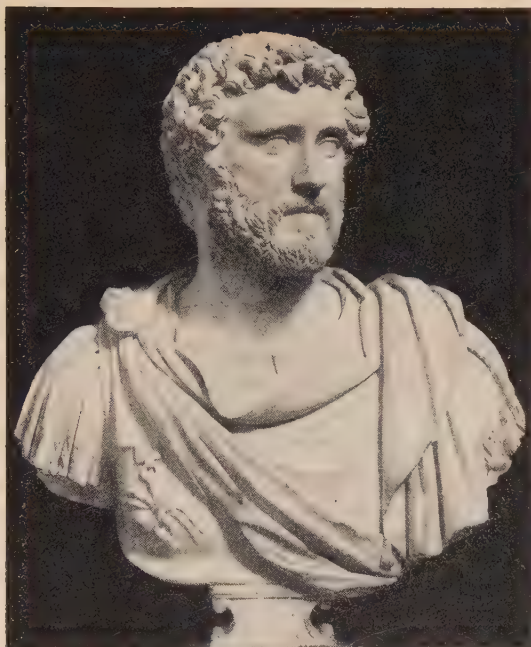


FIG. 64. ANTONINUS PIUS.

Marble bust showing the paludamentum. Museo Nazionale, Naples.

work of Hellenistic times, is conceived in this sense, but from records of his personality it is evidently a very free and imaginative rendering. A new movement was started by the school and period of Lysippus; a striving after truth to nature, a realistic conception, and the pronounced expression of emotion are the peculiarities of this style. They are combined in the statue of Demosthenes (Plate LV.), which with its worn and furrowed features forms a powerful contrast to the idealised statue of Sophocles. In the time of Alexander the Great and the Diadochi the personalities of the princes come to the fore. In the rendering of these, the portraitists have attacked new problems and solved them brilliantly. It is no longer the expression of intellect in the face, as in the case of the poets and philosophers, that attracts





FIG. 65. MARBLE BUST OF CARACALLA.  
Imp. Museum, Berlin.

the eye of the spectator. In the aspect of these portraits an historic interest is aroused in the individual physiognomies of the powerful princes, who seem born to command (fig. 59). A preliminary step in this development is the head of Alexander (Plate LIV.) full of youthful fire. A greater contrast than that between the quiet nobility of the Pericles and the aspiring determination of Alexander can scarcely be imagined. This difference is also illustrated by the heads from the Sidonian sarcophagus (cf. figs. 38 and 43), in so far as they are not entirely idealised. Restrained energy, temperate thinking, and quiet presence of mind are expressed in the noble dignified head of a king (fig. 60), a man of age and experience. It is thought to be the powerful enemy of Rome, Antiochus III. of Syria.



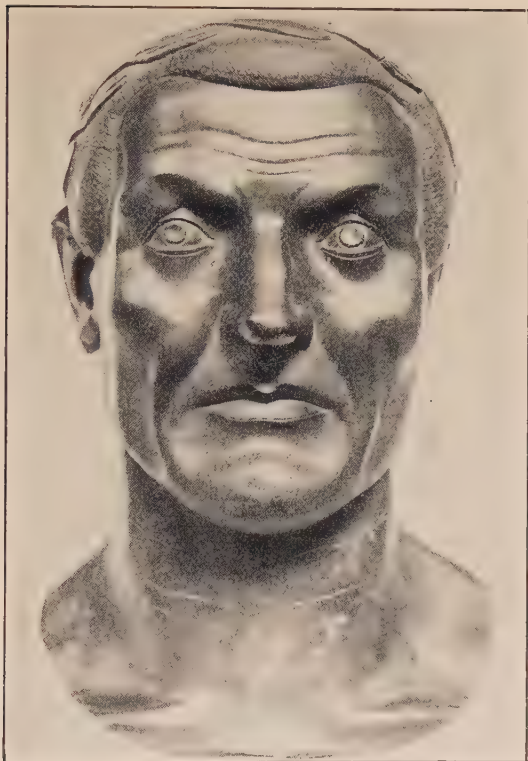


FIG. 66. BRONZE HEAD OF THE EMPEROR MAXIMINUS THRAX.  
Antiquarium, Munich.

Certain portraits of foreigners of various periods deserve special notice. In them the strange un-Greek form of head, the manner of wearing the hair and beard, and the peculiar expression of the face are noticeable at the first glance, and stimulate to an ethnographical study of these types. These unaccustomed features must have attracted much attention then as now, especially as the nations or individuals in question were often in the fore-front of political or military interest. The two examples here given (figs. 59 and 60) and the Barbarians (Plate XLVI. and figs. 49, 52, and 53) indicate the



FIG. 67. MARBLE HEAD OF A ROMAN LADY.  
Between the second and third century A.D. Glyptothek Ny-Carlsberg,  
Copenhagen.

ability of the Hellenes in the characterisation of such types. Though somewhat ennobled by art, the nationality suffers nothing thereby.

Hellenistic art did not experience an immediate development on Roman soil. On crossing to Rome, Greek art was met by a comparatively advanced, specifically Italian portrait art. This art is represented in the numerous Etruscan portraits preserved, of which the uncompromising fidelity to nature places them in the front rank of realistic work. But the majority of Roman portraits present the result of a combination of an already advanced national style and the influence of Greek art in conception and technique. One of the oldest examples of this type, although the date is not yet

fixed with any certainty, is the bearded bronze head from the conservatoire at Rome (Plate LVII.), in which the type of the old republican is given in a comparatively accurate manner. Quite different from this so-far isolated work is the long line of portrait busts of beardless Romans from the first century B.C. until the beginning of the time of the Caesars. The harsh realism of these appears softened by the artistic excellence of their execution, but the national type of the *civis Romanus* of the good old stamp, his simplicity and capability, his common sense and his tremendous energy, are all expressed in unqualified terms (cf. Plate LX., "Roman citizen wearing the Toga," and fig. 57). A small group of portraits from about the same period stand out from these masterly studies of genuine Roman character. These are the intelligent and spiritual faces, often not without a certain sarcastic trait, that seem to be refined by the study of Greek philosophy. Excellent examples of this type are the Caesar (fig. 61), Cicero, Mark Antony, and many others. In the bust of Agrippa (Plate LVII.) this intellectual character is only recognisable in a lesser degree, as the old Roman type preponderates in his face, and his features too are given an animated emotional expression. Perfect harmony of bodily strength and inner enlightenment, of mind and character, characterise the wonderful terra-cotta head (fig. 62). In material and technique it belongs to the local tradition, recalling the wax and clay busts of an older period; in artistic conception it is influenced by Hellenism. At first sight it awakens interest by its vitality and naturalness. The portrait of this ancient but unbroken man seems to be modelled freely from life, but is by no means small in treatment. It obtains a likeness by clear decided forms, helped by the pliable nature of the clay, and achieves the highest aim of portraiture, the illustration of the type by the individual. For in this unknown Roman with the noble proudly raised head,

his iron will and determination, the plastic embodiment of "virtus" and "nobilitas" in the best sense of the words is achieved.

In the time of the Caesars it was principally the representation of the emperors and members of their families with which Roman plastic art was occupied. In the figure of the emperor it was necessary above everything to bring out the majesty of the Imperator. A truly princely figure is the statue of Augustus from Prima Porta (Plate LVIII.). He is conceived as in the act of addressing the army. Few statues can compare in truth and grandeur of conception with the seated Nerva in the rotunda of the Vatican Museum, which is modelled on the statues of Zeus enthroned. The Marcus Aurelius on the Capitol riding over conquered foes is rightly considered one of the finest equestrian statues of all time. There are a few statues of Roman ladies of the Augustan period which belong to the class of idealised portraits and reproduce the forms of Greek masterpieces of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. The seated women (in the Uffizi at Florence and in several of the Roman museums), which in their easy attitudes unite grace and dignity, are probably imitated from Attic grave reliefs. The Herculanean woman (Plate LIX.) from Dresden, which is perhaps a statue erected in her home, goes back to the style of Praxiteles and his school. Roman art even in the latest period exhibited a marvellous command of technique and power of characterisation in the rendering of the Caesars, princes, and ladies of the imperial family (fig. 63). In the Julian-Claudian period the faces express chiefly quiet determination, and noble courtly dignity (Plate LVIII.) as far as Claudius. After him various good and bad qualities stand out in the physiognomies corresponding to the origin and character of the different rulers, and give them intense psychological interest. Trajan, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius are well known and noble

examples. The excellent bust of Antoninus Pius (fig. 64) is an admirable example of the academically careful but uninspired sculpture of the time, with its slight turn of the head. Mild, passionless, and almost insipid seem the features of this worthy prince (cf. Julius Capitolinus, chap. ii.). This period, however, produced some fine work full of vitality and brilliant in execution. The strongly characterised head of Caracalla (fig. 65) shows that Roman art preserved its creative power in the third century A.D. It presents the worst side of "Caesardom." An equally masterful creation is the head of Maximinus Thrax (fig. 66). The laurel wreath points him out as ruler. He came from the district north of Thrace, from the lower Danube, and was the son of a Goth and a woman of the Alani. He was the first Germanian to occupy the throne of the Caesars, and was conspicuous for his gigantic height and strength. The rigorous naturalism of this bust is extraordinarily telling and effective. Maximinus Thrax, already advanced in years, looks at us as if he lived. "The straightforward look of the large wide-open eyes, serious, stern, and care-laden, eminently corresponds to his character, as does the evil sidelong glance of Caracalla." Some charming female portraits were also executed in this period, among them the heads called Plautilla, Julia Domna, etc. From the style and the fashion of hair-dressing the head of a distinguished Roman lady (fig. 67) belongs to this period, about the end of the second or beginning of the third century A.D. Its refined and delicate modelling and the irresistible charm of youthful womanhood captivate every observer.



## PLATE L

## PERICLES

*Marble bust from a herm. British Museum, London*

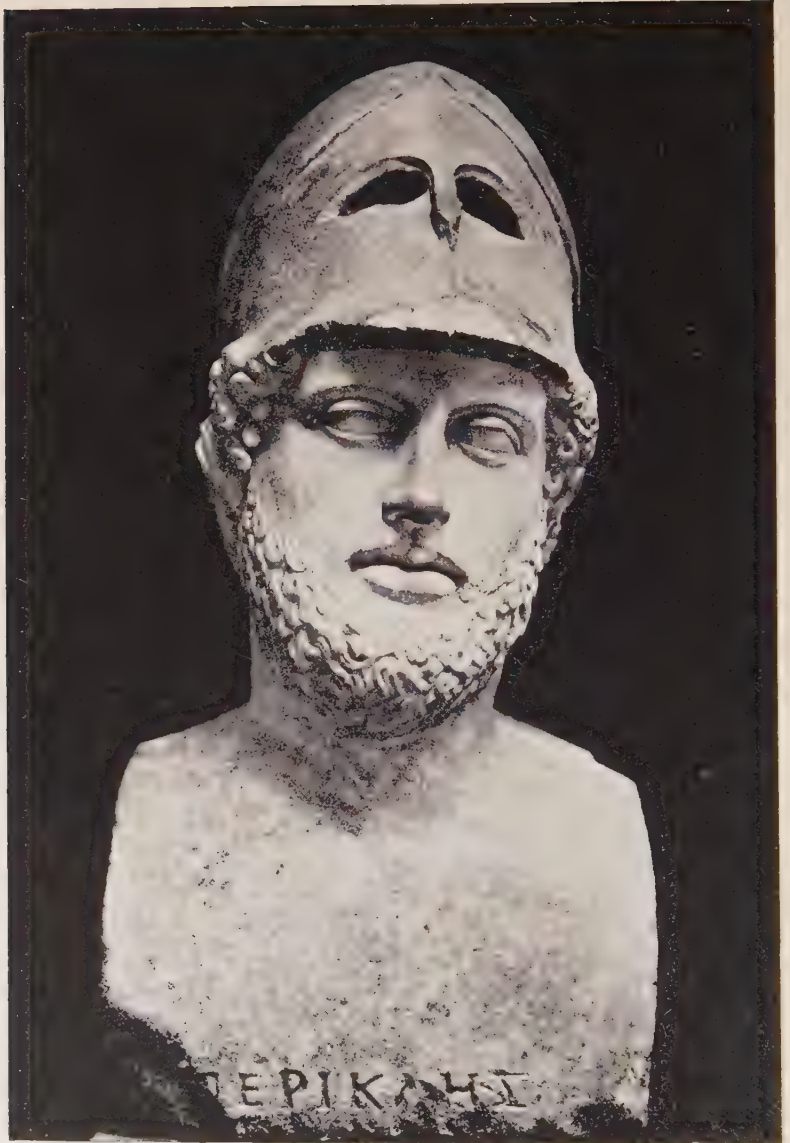
This only slightly damaged herm, a good copy of a Greek original of the fifth century B.C., was discovered in 1781 under the ruins of an antique villa south-east of Tivoli, and afterwards came to the British Museum. That Pericles is represented is shown by the antique Greek inscription on the shaft.<sup>1</sup> It is recorded by Pliny the Elder (*Naturalis Historia*, 34, 74) that a contemporary of the statesman, the bronze worker Cresilas, who came from Cydonia in Crete but worked in Athens, executed his portrait in bronze. The assumption that this is identical with the head mentioned by Pausanias (*Periegesis*, i. 25 and 28) without designation of the artist in the description of the Acropolis, not far from the Promachos of Phidias, has recently received new support. Among the inexhaustible ruins of the citadel a fragment has come to light that bears in two lines the incomplete inscription . . . κλέος . . . ιλας ἐποίη. This is now restored without, of course, any certainty to [Περικ]κλέος [Κρες]ιλας ἐποίη.<sup>2</sup> A copy of this work of Cresilas is preserved in the marble bust here reproduced. The style with its almost archaic suggestion points to the time of this artist, the tight firm modelling to a bronze

<sup>1</sup> According to epigraphists the character of the letters belongs probably to the first century B.C. At any rate the writing and style of the herm point to a decidedly early period for copies.

<sup>2</sup> "Pericles. Cresilas made it." "Περικλέος" stands for "Περικλέους" and "ἐποίη" for "ἐποiei" in the old Attic way of writing. According to the sense, "εimi" is to be understood after "Περικλέους" and translated literally, "I belong to Pericles." But the short form of the composition is unusual and the restoration therefore doubtful.



PLATE I



PERICLES

BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON

original, and finally the existence of several reproductions of the same head to a famous original. Thus a portrait executed during the lifetime of the man (between 440-430) has been preserved. But it is not a portrait as we understand it, an exact rendering of a physiognomy. It shows the style of the master to a marked degree, and in accordance with the practice of the time presents an idealised portrait of the refined and distinguished Athenian stripped of all accidental features. Yet there is in the features and in the general appearance sufficient individuality to give us an imaginative but nevertheless broadly characteristic impression of the great statesman.

The long oval of the noble regularly-formed face is framed in a short well-trimmed beard. The hair curls luxuriantly from under the helmet on both sides of the face. Pericles is not, as suggested in the *Vita* of Plutarch, 3, wearing the helmet to hide the pointed shape of his skull which was mocked at by contemporary comedians, but, as other portraits of generals show, only in accordance with the custom as a sign of the office that he held permanently. The slight inclination of the head to one side was perhaps observed by Cresilas from life as a peculiarity of Pericles himself.<sup>1</sup> It greatly increases the life-like impression of the great statesman that the bust gives even in the present day. We see a handsome man in the prime of life, in full possession of his powers, who also has an eye for externals. The slightly rounded forehead, the furrow above the well-formed nose, the arch of the brows, and most of all the deep-set eyes—all express the thoughtful, deliberate character of the great statesman. But it is the mouth that gives life to the marble. The wide full lips are parted, so that we seem to hear the flow of words that streams from his mouth. We are involuntarily reminded of the

<sup>1</sup> Of course it is possible that the inclination of the head is due to the pose of the *statue* of which there is no record, and is retained by the copyist who executed the *herm*.

praise expended on Pericles by the older writers,<sup>1</sup> of the famous funeral oration he made over those who fell in the first year of the Peloponnesian war.<sup>2</sup> But the general impression is that of the statesman who controlled the passionate and effervescent populace, who remained firm and decided on all national subjects, who met the attacks of his enemies with cold tranquillity.<sup>3</sup> Nobility and strength, quiet and clear understanding, are all combined in his features. The epithet "the Olympian," which was applied to the bronze statue as to the person represented, fits also this marble copy. The eye never tires of this noble and dignified bust.

## PLATE LI

### SOPHOCLES

#### *Marble statue. Museum of the Lateran, Rome*

The gem of the Lateran Collection is this somewhat over life-size figure, that came to light at the ancient town of Anxur (now Terracina<sup>4</sup>) and was presented to Pope Gregory XVI. by the local family of Antonelli. Though very much broken it was fortunately preserved in essentials, and this admirable work has now been restored<sup>5</sup> from antique models by the sculptor Tenerani. The interpretation is given on a small marble bust in the Vatican, on which the name of the poet is partly legible in Greek characters. As Iophon, the son of Sophocles, had a statue of his father erected after the

<sup>1</sup> Eupolis and from him Cicero, *Brutus*, ix. 38. Cf. *Comicorum Atticorum fragmenta* (ed. Kock), i. 281, 94, and iii. 718, 94.

<sup>2</sup> Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, ii. 35 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Thucydides* ii. 65, 8; Plutarch, *Pericles*, 5.

<sup>4</sup> It was also called Tarracina in quite early times.

<sup>5</sup> Among the most important restorations are the base, the feet, and the support.







SOPHOCLES

LATERAN MUSEUM, ROME

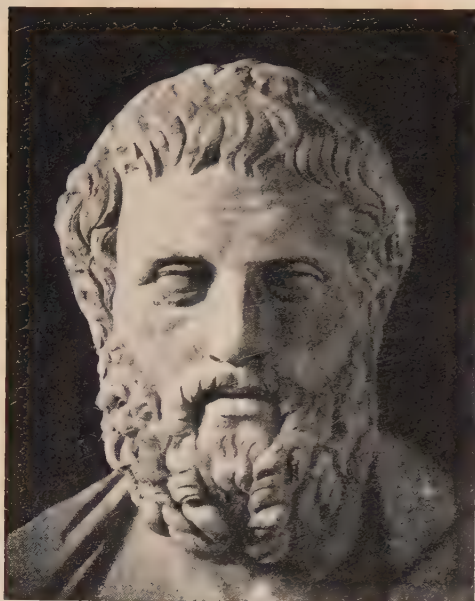


FIG. 68. HEAD OF THE MARBLE STATUE OF SOPHOCLES.  
In the Lateran, Rome.

latter's death,<sup>1</sup> an accurate portrait of the great poet was handed down to posterity. It does not seem probable on grounds of style that the Lateran statue is a reproduction of this work. Its relation to the bronze that was subscribed for by the Athenians<sup>2</sup> at the suggestion of the orator Lycurgus<sup>3</sup> cannot be traced in the absence of a description of the same. According to the style and composition the Lateran statue is from an original about the middle of the fourth century, and the work of an Attic master whose work was related to

<sup>1</sup> *Vita Sophocles*, ii. reprinted in *Electra*, ed. Otto Jahn-Michaelis.

<sup>2</sup> *Lives of the Ten Orators*, 841 F, with which compare Pausanias, *Itinerary of Greece*, i. 21, 1. According to this the work originally stood in the Dionysos theatre at Athens, which was completed about 319 B.C. The date of the installation of the statue may be obtained from this, as the honouring of the three great dramatists, Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, would be most appropriate to the decoration of the building of Lycurgus.

<sup>3</sup> After 340 B.C., probably towards the end or even somewhat after the public activity of this treasurer (327).

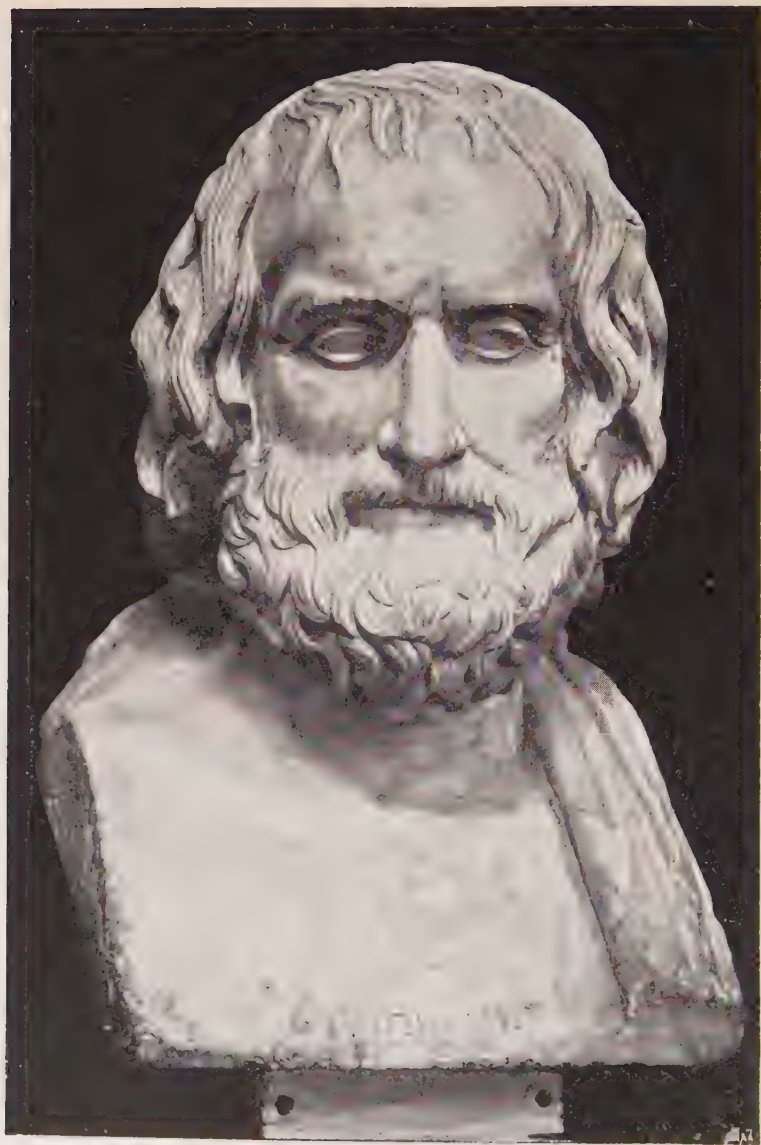
the Praxitelean school. As this second work stood where all could see it and was very popular, it would probably be the first to be copied and the connection is quite plausible.

The statue is an ideal portrait of the type customary from the fourth century. In the full enjoyment of manly vigour and strength the poet stands before us, the left foot advanced in the action of walking, the easy pose of the arms contrasting with the action of the legs and bringing the necessary feeling of repose to the statue. This towering figure, full of nobility and self-conscious dignity, yet devoid of pride and all affectation, is the model of *καλὸς καγαθὸς ἀνὴρ*, the refined man of the world of the fifth century B.C. The hand of a great artist is recognisable in this excellent copy, particularly in the treatment of the ample cloak that covers the greater part of the body. One hesitates which to admire the more, the smooth spaces in which the forms of the body are more revealed than hidden, or the rich variety of the folds, that in all their manifold lines still present a uniform whole. The effect of the statue is enhanced by an examination of the noble regularly formed head. It is slightly raised (fig. 68). "The expression of the face, which, wreathed in abundant hair and beard, suggests sublime wisdom in the high forehead, and eloquence in the fine formation of the mouth, is as bright and clear as it is serious and spiritual. The look of the seer in the upward glance is combined with the thorough development of an opulent and active mind. In the aspect of this portrait it is possible to imagine oneself in the presence of the poet himself, to forget oneself in the contemplation of his mind and character."—Welcker. The head combines the impression of spiritual and physical existence in the highest manner and increases the worth of the statue. It is regarded as the finest antique portrait preserved, a monument precious to the whole of the civilised world.





PLATE LII



EURIPIDES

MUSEO NAZIONALE, NAPLES

## PLATE LII

## EURIPIDES

*Marble bust. National Museum, Naples*

Of all the numerous portraits of Euripides preserved, chiefly of the time of the Caesars, which bear witness to his popularity in later times, the finest and most important is that here reproduced. Except for the nose, which is partially restored, it is in almost perfect preservation. Its value is increased by the antique Greek inscription, that in irregular but quite legible letters gives the name of the person represented and has made the interpretation of other portraits possible.<sup>1</sup> It is mentioned at the end of the sixteenth century as in the possession of the Farnese family, and when this family died out at the end of the eighteenth century it came with many world-famous antiques into the possession of the King of Naples of that time and from him to the museum there.

Euripides is represented advanced in years, almost on the threshold of old age, but with no sign of its weakness. The head rests in slight inclination on a herm, the fragment of drapery on the left shoulder assisting the suggestion of a complete statue. On both sides of the head hang symmetrical masses of curly hair, which reach to the neck and cover the temples and ears completely. Only thin strands reach the forehead. The somewhat long and not too carefully trimmed beard grows right up to the hair on either side. The fundamental character of the features of this broad bony face is high seriousness and thoughtfulness. The

<sup>1</sup> The copy belongs to a comparatively early time, perhaps the first century B.C. The character of the letters of the inscription would agree with this date.

lowered glance of the deep-set eyes with their overshadowing brows, the mighty arch of the forehead, and the furrows above the nose all suggest heavy thought, which is emphasised by the sunken cheeks and prominent cheek-bones. At the same time the peace and gentleness of age is spread over the whole face and, with the long hair and the inclination of the head, give an impression of sympathy and inspire confidence.

Thus the bust only partly bears out the accounts of writers concerning the appearance and character of the poet. For "he appeared with a morose expression, stern and thoughtful . . ." <sup>1</sup> and "even at his wine he had not learnt to be gay." <sup>2</sup> But we may assume that these qualities and peculiarities from contemporary comedies, if not entirely invented are greatly exaggerated. A connection between this bust and the bronze statue erected at the instigation of the orator Lycurgus <sup>3</sup> cannot be established, any more than in the case of the Lateran Sophocles, in the absence of any description of the statue. But as numbers of the busts preserved are from the same original it is probable that they are copied from this famous statue. <sup>4</sup> In any case the original of the bust, which without emphasising personal details so as to become a character study is yet full of individuality, is no

<sup>1</sup> *Vita*, ed. Nauck, i. (Teubner Texts), line 64, *et seq.*

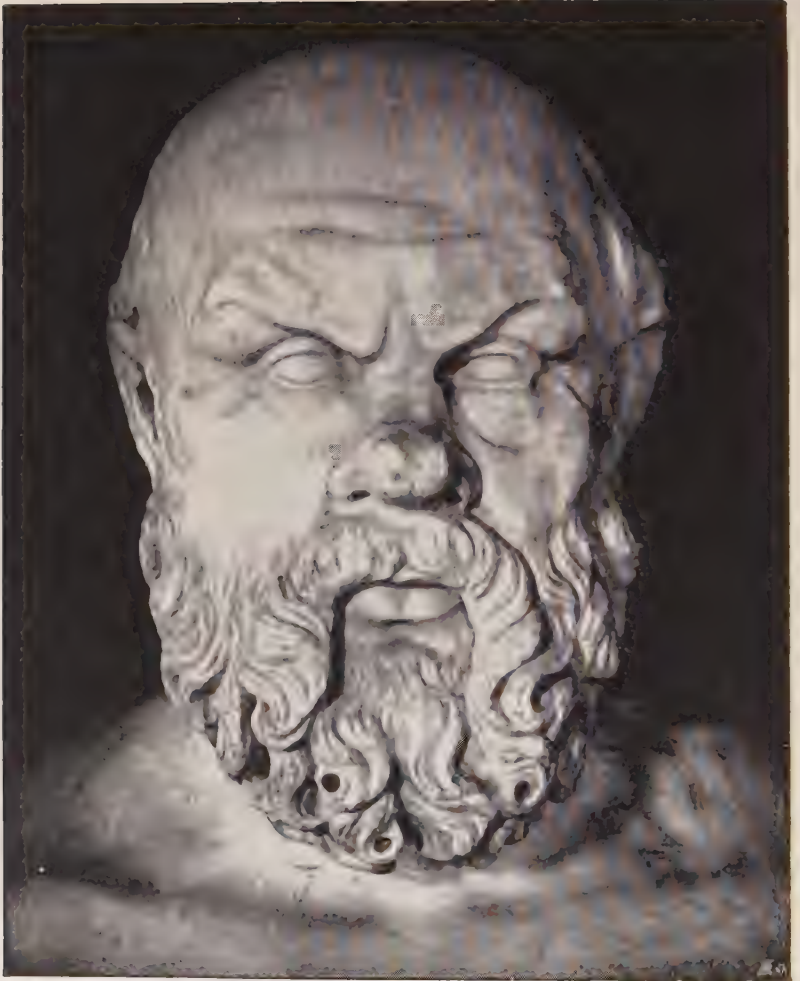
<sup>2</sup> Alexander Aetolus in Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, xv. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Life of the Ten Orators*, 841 F, with which Pausanias' *Itinerary of Greece*, i. 21, 1, is rightly connected; according to this the work stood in the Dionysos theatre at Athens.

<sup>4</sup> A Roman relief discovered in Asia Minor and preserved in Constantinople shows the same type of head. The relief represents the poet seated between the personification of the Tragic Theatre (Σκηνη) and the God of Wine, and is connected with the Festival of Dionysos. The whole is in the style of the fifth century B.C. From this it is concluded that it is from the original of the Neapolitan bust, which could then have had no place beside the standing Sophocles in the Dionysos theatre at Athens. If indeed these two widely differing portraits could not have appeared on the same spot, the popular head of Euripides might very well have been used for a standing figure seventy years after. And the relief at Constantinople does not definitely prove the previous existence of a seated figure of Euripides in the round. The relief, which perhaps reproduces a votive gift, may quite possibly be original in conception.



PLATE LIII



SOCRATES

VILLA ALBANI, ROME



imaginative ideal portrait made after the death of the poet. It could only have been executed from life or from some other portrait from life. The bust is particularly valuable because it illustrates the qualities of the serious thoughtful poetry which earned for Euripides the name of Philosopher of the Stage;<sup>1</sup> in the same way the statue of Sophocles appears as the embodiment of his spiritual character as it is expressed in his tragedies. Beside the latter sublime statue which immediately claims our attention and admiration by its perfection, the eye rests on the simpler but nevertheless noble and venerable features of the bust of Euripides with increasing interest and satisfaction. It, too, is one of the most important examples of antique portraiture.

## PLATE LIII

## SOCRATES

*Marble bust. Villa Albani, Rome*

This rather over life-size herm, a good but somewhat hard copy of the time of the first Roman Empire, was found in 1735 in the ruins of an antique country house of ancient Tusculum, that is to-day, without any foundation, pointed out as the former villa of Cicero; it immediately came into the possession of the great collector Cardinal Alessandro Albani. Admirably preserved except for the restored shaft, it is counted the most original of the numerous busts of Socrates preserved, and on this account has attracted more than any other portrait of the brilliant personalities of Athens the interest of the whole cultured world.

The head resting slightly inclined upon the shaft represents

<sup>1</sup> Athenaeus, *Table-talk*, 158 E and 561 A; Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, viii. praefatio, etc.

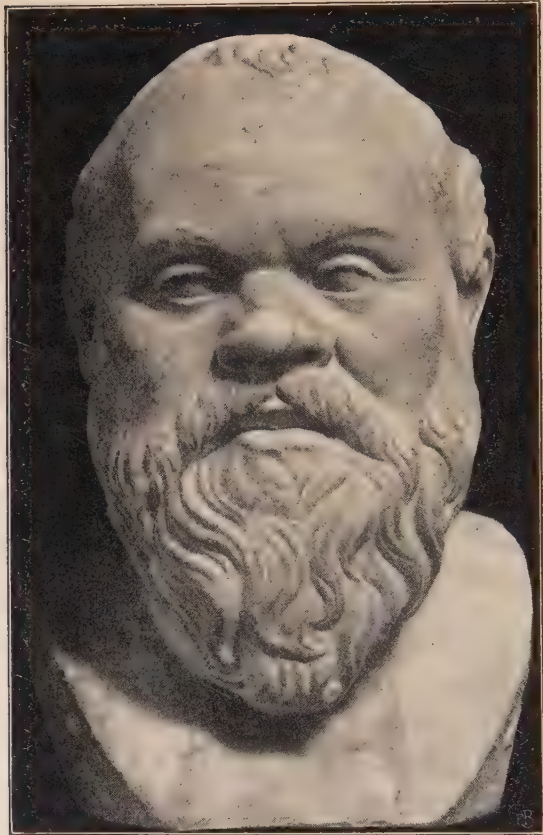


FIG. 69. MARBLE BUST OF SOCRATES.  
Museo Nazionale, Naples.

the great philosopher at a ripe age. The massive skull, which rises steeply from the furrowed forehead, curves in a long shallow arch, and is for the most part devoid of hair; only at the back is it covered, none too thickly, with lightly curling locks. The beard starts directly from the ear and falls in long single strands downwards, the unusually long moustache hanging over it in two rolls. What at once attracts the notice of the spectator is the curved snub nose with its

wide nostrils and thick nob at the end. In harmony with this is the thick underlip of the half-opened mouth and the mass of fat and skin on the forehead which, only interrupted by the triangular wrinkle over the nose, extends over the lower part of the forehead and is continued in the lumps over the small eyes. It is more effective by contrast with the somewhat sunken cheeks and prominent bones. There is no need of an inscription from a bust in Naples to enable us to identify the person represented. For the picture of Socrates as he is described in contemporary literature,<sup>1</sup> and particularly in the Platonic Dialogues, is made to live for us in this bust. It is a tribute to the worth of this bust that we are not repelled by the Silenus type of the face, but in the recognition of its spiritual qualities we forget the ugliness, or if we remember it we are able to reconcile it with the char-

<sup>1</sup> Plato, *Symposium*, 215: φημί (Alcibiades) μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν εἶναι τοῖς σιληνοῖς . . . ὅτι μὲν οὖν τό γε εἶδος ὅμοιος ἐστὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς, ὃ Σώκρατες, οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἂν δῆτιον ἀμφισβητήσει. ("I consider he is extremely like the Sileni . . . that you are like them in appearance, Socrates, you can't deny even to yourself.")

The bald head is confirmed by Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 146. σιμός ("snub-nosed") is applied by Socrates to himself, *Theaetetus*, 209; cf. Xenophon, *Symposium*, v. 6. ἐξόφθαλμος ("with prominent eyes"), the same *Theaetetus*. ὀφθαλμοὶ ἐπιπόλαιοι ("lying on the surface"), and small, Xenophon, v. 5. These epithets refer to the eyes well forward in the skull and flat in the face as they occur in the Naples bust (fig. 69). Also the joking comparison with the ray in *Menon*, 80A, refers to the eyes of this fish which are small and close together; though the faces of both might suggest a comic resemblance to an imaginative observer. In *Phaedon*, 117: ὥσπερ εἰώθει ταυρηδὸν ὑποβλέψας ("after he had stared at them bull-like from below, in accordance with his habit"), the demonic power of his glance is referred to.

Xenophon, *Or. cit.*, v. 7: τοῦ γε μὴν στόματος, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, ὑφέμαι. εἰ γὰρ τοῦ ἀποδάσκειν ἕνεκα πεποίηται, πολὺ ἂν σὺ μείζον ἢ ἐγὼ ἀποδάσκω. διὰ δὲ τὸ παχέα ἔχειν τὰ χεῖλη οὐκ οἶε καὶ μαλακώτερον σὺν ἔχειν τὸ φίλημα; ἔοικα, ἔφη (Socrates), ἐγὼ κατὰ τὸν σὺν λόγον καὶ τῶν θνητῶν ἀσχιον τὸ στόμα ἔχειν. ("As far as the mouth is concerned," put in Critobulus, "I am content. If it was made for biting, then you can bite off a far larger piece than I. But dost thou believe that because thy lips are thick, thy kiss is therefore the more tender?" "According to you," answered Socrates, "I seem to have an uglier mouth than that of the ass.") A comparison of the whole passage, v. 3-7, with the Albani bust is interesting. It almost seems as if this passage was in the mind of the artist of the original, the aspect of the bust involuntarily recalling the literary portrait.

acter of the subject. For what exalts this head above the type of Silenus is the expression, the quiet thoughtful glance, the clear understanding, and the gentle fatherly features, the simple noble qualities of the man which made him in contemporary circles superior to friend and foe. He is indeed the golden kernel in its hard shell or, as Alcibiades finely expresses it in Plato,<sup>1</sup> a divine form hidden in the outward appearance of a Silenus herm.

The original of the bust, that might appear to many a beholder as a fully individual realistic portrait, was not executed in the lifetime of Socrates. For although already in the fifth century B.C. a realistic movement of portrait art is recorded in literature, yet a comparison with other more faithful portraits (as, for example, that from the museum in Naples, fig. 69) shows that the herm in the Villa Albani rather emphasises the characteristic features, and rather tends to exaggerate the expression too much in the direction of a Hellenistic Silenus. A connection with the bronze statue by Lysippus erected by the Athenians in the Pompeion, a building put up for the preparation of festival processions, is impossible on grounds of style. The original of the type of the Villa Albani is Hellenistic, like the Homer, and designed for one of the great libraries of the time of the Diadochi in the third or second century B.C. But if the features of the great philosopher do not appear in absolute truth in this bust it is none the less a valuable work. The character and soul of the sitter are expressed in a clear and pure form. Thus is the problem that Socrates himself set before an artist solved as it were by accident in later years and in his own portrait. Δεῖ τὸν ἀνδριαντοποιὸν τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἔργα τῷ εἶδει προσεικάζειν,<sup>2</sup> "the sculptor should in a portrait give expression to the activity of the soul." It is a masterpiece of portraiture and its power is as great to-day as when it was executed.

<sup>1</sup> *Symposium*, 215A, *et seq.* Cf. also 216, *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, 3, 10, 8.





HEAD OF A STATUE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

GLYPTOTHEK, MUNICH





## PLATE LIV

HEAD OF THE STATUE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT<sup>1</sup>

*Marble. Glyptothek, Munich*

This somewhat over life-size statue, of which the place of discovery is not recorded, is a good copy of Roman times. It is mentioned by Winckelmann as situated in the Palazzo Rondanini at Rome. In spite of the restoration of the right leg and the elevation on which it rests, and the false restoration of the greater part of the arms,<sup>2</sup> it has been fortunate in its preservation in that the head has remained unscathed and never been separated from the body. The coat of mail that serves as a support behind, together with the indication of a shield on the plinth, suggest the military character of the person represented, if they are not both additions of the copyist. The accepted interpretation as Alexander the Great represented in the heroic manner quite nude is, in spite of opposition, still valid. It is founded on literary accounts of the appearance of the king, and is supported by its resemblance to the heads of Alexander on coins of King Lysimachus of Thrace. But it is so far not strengthened by any sculptural evidence.

The youthful prince, about twenty years of age, has his right foot on a slight elevation, but stands in a fairly upright position. The modelling of the body is remarkable for its strong muscular development. The whole appearance of the statue is, with its youthful strength and easy pose, princely and exalted, unaffectedly noble. But it is in the head that

<sup>1</sup> The whole statue is reproduced in fig. 70.

<sup>2</sup> In some restorations a sword has been placed across the right thigh, so that the right hand of the figure clasps the hilt and the left the scabbard. Others have supposed both hands to be clasped on the right leg in a gesture of restrained impatience.

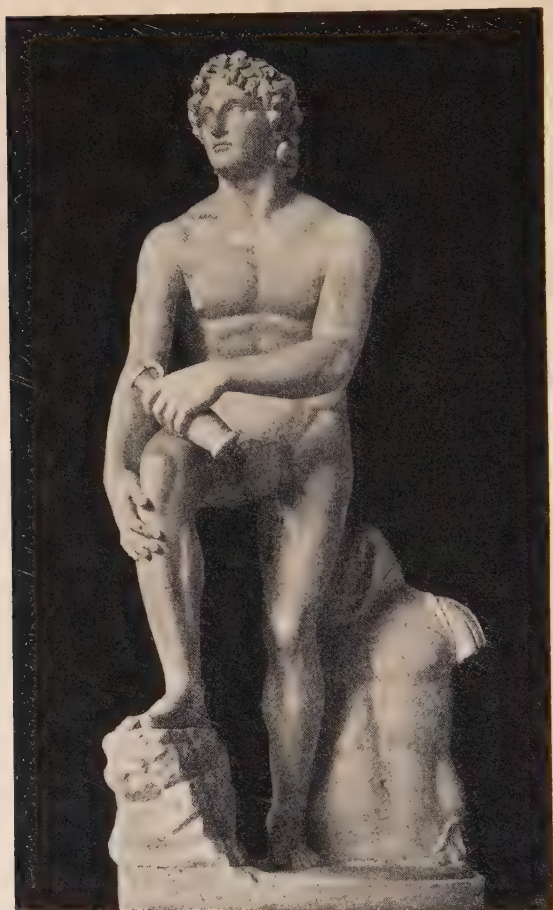


FIG. 70. MARBLE STATUE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.  
Glyptothek, Munich.

the portrait of an extraordinary personality is most clearly recognisable. The beautiful head, turned in harmony with the body a little to the right and slightly raised, rests on a strongly modelled neck. Its strong and at the same time tender youthfulness captivates the beholder. The abundant curly hair, that in the middle of the forehead rises in separate

curls,<sup>1</sup> and falls in a rich mass down the back of the neck, covering the temples and ears in front, is well calculated to enhance the beauty of the face. The broad beardless oval, ending with a round chin, is modelled with extraordinary regularity, but strengthened by the curved nose and the prominence of the lower part of the forehead. The delicate half-opened mouth shows an almost bitter trait, that is increased by the dreamy look of the wide-open eyes<sup>2</sup> with their somewhat swollen underlids almost to a tinge of melancholy. The head makes from the front an impression of a gifted and thoughtful character and of a certain restrained energy, in profile it is rather the proud strength, the forward-pushing fiery qualities of the sitter, his almost superhuman beauty<sup>3</sup> that in spite of the moderation of the artist and the quiet pose receive full expression. Thus the description of the personality of the young prince, particularly that of the first chapter of the *Vita* of Plutarch, find in the whole statue and particularly in the head ocular demonstration. At the same time the statue involuntarily recalls that model of youthful strength and beauty and example of proud ambition, the hero Achilles, from whom he was descended on his mother's side,<sup>4</sup> and for whom he had in earlier youth a glowing admiration and enthusiasm, nourished by the reading of Homer.<sup>5</sup>

The artist of the original, that was executed before Alexander marched into Greece, has in this rendering of young Alexander shown himself to be an admirable portraitist. His name cannot, however, be discovered

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Pompeius*, 2; Aelianus, *Varia Historia*, xii. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Concerning the expression of the eyes, cf. Plutarch, *Vita*, cap. 4, and *De Alexandri Magni fortuna aut virtute*, ii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Aelianus, *Varia Historia*, xii. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Curtius Rufus, *Historiae Alexandri Magni*, iv. 28; Plutarch, *Vita*, cap. 2; and *De Alexandri Magni fortuna et virtute*, ii. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Cicero, *Oratio pro Archia poeta*, 24; Plutarch, *Vita*, cap. 5, 8, 15.

either from literary sources or from art-historical researches. He probably belonged to the so-called Attic circle, but in any case not to the school of Lysippus.<sup>1</sup>

## PLATE LV

### DEMOSTHENES

*Marble statue, Vatican, Rome. From the restored cast in the Cast Museum, Munich*

Among the numerous portraits of Demosthenes preserved from Roman times this statue, about two metres high, takes a foremost place; except for a similar statue in an English private collection, it is the only one that presents the great orator and statesman full length. Although its place of discovery is not recorded we know for certain that the work was in the Villa Aldobrandini at Frascati in 1709, and was purchased in 1823 by Pope Pius VII. for the collection of the Vatican. Although broken into several pieces, it has been possible to reconstruct the essential parts of the statue with certainty. That Demosthenes is represented is proved by a small bronze bust from Herculaneum in the Museum at Naples, on which the name is inscribed in Greek letters. The much-debated question whether the Vatican statue is a copy of the bronze by Polyeuctos,<sup>2</sup> which the Athenians erected to their great fellow-citizen in the market place at Athens on the instigation of his nephew Demochares, 280-279, entered ten years ago on a new phase. For at that time a right foot and

<sup>1</sup> Among other artists, a younger contemporary of Praxiteles and Scopas, Leochares, has been suggested, to whom the original of the Apollo Belvedere has been attributed. There is certainly a resemblance to this statue in the treatment of the hair.

<sup>2</sup> *Lives of the Ten Orators*, 847 A and D; Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 30; Pausanias, *Itinerary of Greece*, i. 8, 2, etc.





DEMOSTHENES

VATICAN MUSEUM, ROME

*From a restored cast in the Gipsmuseum, Munich*



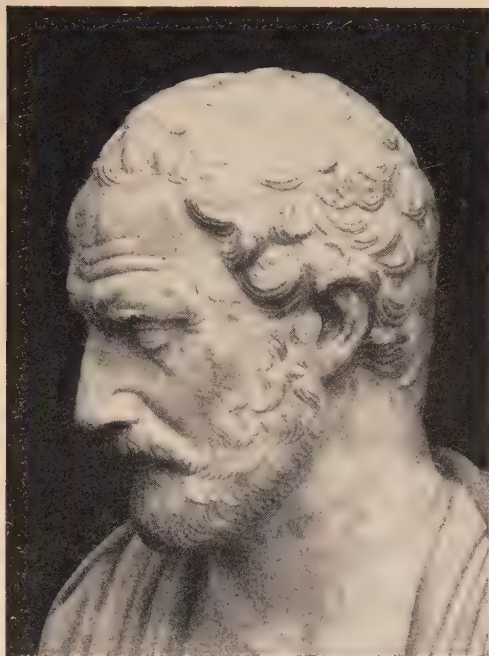


FIG. 71. DEMOSTHENES. Marble head (bust restored).  
Glyptothek Ny-Carlsberg, Copenhagen.

two clasped hands came to light among a number of marble fragments near the Palazzo Barberini. As the hands in the statue of Polyeuctos were clasped in this manner these are considered parts of a third replica.<sup>1</sup> Thus the fore-arms of the two nearly complete statues can now be reconstructed, and the statues themselves attributed with certainty to Polyeuctos, as the original could from its style quite well belong to the third century and would most probably be copied from a statue erected on such a famous spot. The

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *op. cit.* 31, ἔστηκε τοὺς δακτύλους συνέχων δι' ἀλλήλων (that is to say, Demosthenes). It is thought that the position of the hands and the whole attitude were typical of Demosthenes the orator, and became traditional after his death. In this case his outward appearance is here plastically embodied for all time. At the same time the clasping of the hands, so effective in this statue, is demonstrably typical.

modelling of the bronze is clearly shown in the replica of the head (fig. 71).

Demosthenes stands before us in a simple pose, his weight on the left leg, the right slightly advanced and a little to one side. He is wearing a long mantle which hangs in simple folds and leaves the narrow chest and slender arms bare, exposing the weakness of the body.<sup>1</sup> The formation of the head, with its short beard and rather short curly hair, harmonises completely with the rest of the figure. Demosthenes appears as a man past the prime of life and in fact not far from its end. His serious, morose, and embittered face, with its high furrowed forehead, its deep-set eyes beneath shadowing brows, shows in its deep lines the traces of a hard-working and combative life. It almost seems to suggest a gloomy fear for the future of his country, but shows at the same time unshakable faith in his convictions and a strength of will that has been tried in many conflicts. The contracted hands, as they are rendered in the restoration in the place of the roll of parchment, strengthen the impression of resignation and inward sorrow, and at the same time help the effect of the decided outline of the whole figure. The famous lines:

Εἴπερ ἴσῃν γνώμῃ ῥώμην, Δημόσθενες, εἶχες,  
οὐποτ' ἂν Ἑλλήνων ἤρξεν Ἀρης Μακεδών,<sup>2</sup>

(" If thy power, Demosthenes, had been as great as thy spirit,  
Never had Hellas bowed before the Macedonian sword,")

which the Athenians placed below the statue of Demosthenes on the market place as an admirable summary of his life and strife, are clearly illustrated in this copy. The original of such a characteristic portrait must, even though it was not erected until forty-two years after the death of the orator,

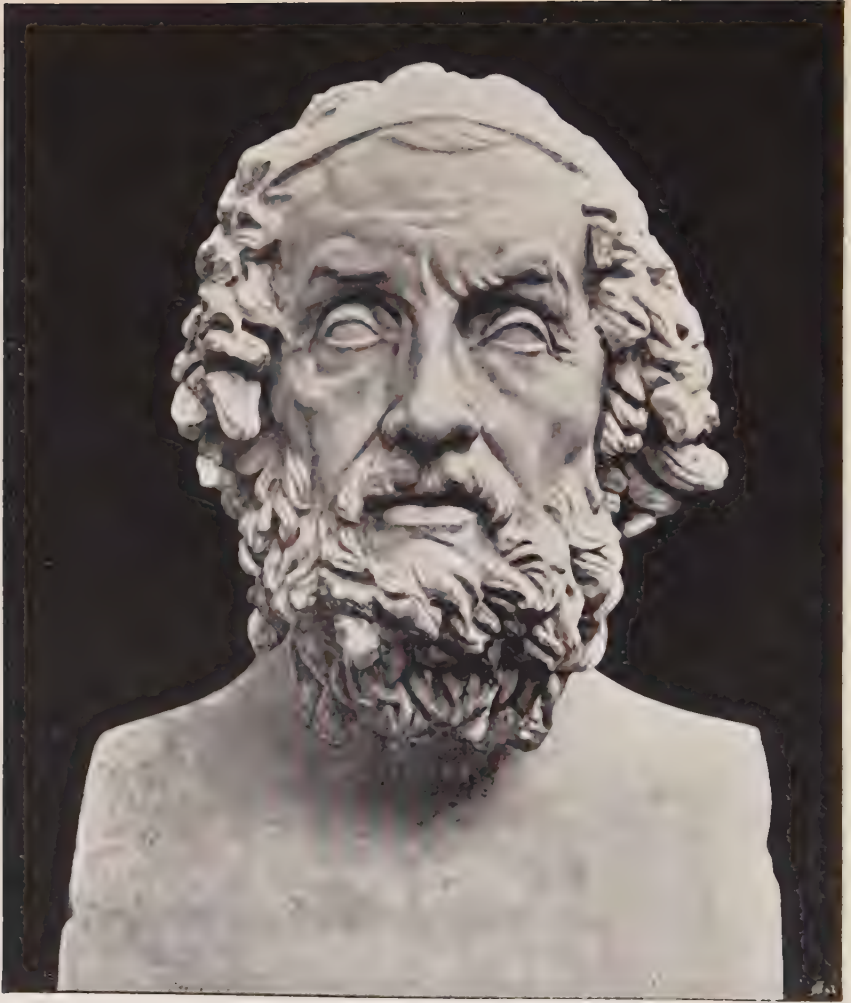
<sup>1</sup> How elegant on the other hand is the arrangement of the himation in the Lateran statue of Sophocles (Plate LI.).

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 30, etc.





PLATE LVI



HOMER

GRAND DUCAL LIBRARY, SCHWERIN

have been executed from a model from life. We feel in the aspect of this statue how Demosthenes must have had to struggle with his physical weakness. In the mouth with its compressed underlip an indication of the impediment in his speech has been suggested. But the whole statue bears out and strengthens the impression made by the reading of the orations of the great statesman, and for this reason alone the worth of this impressive portrait is very great.

## PLATE LVI

## HOMER

*Marble herm. Grand Ducal Library, Schwerin*

In numerous Roman copies we have come to know an important work of Hellenistic times which may be regarded as a representation of Homer. It is true there is no confirmatory inscription, but the indication of blindness, the aged appearance, the noble character of the head, but, above all, the expression of poetic vision, all point to Homer as the only appropriate explanation of the subject of the head.

Of the various copies the one here reproduced is little known, but on account of its almost complete preservation and workmanship it is a very good example and gives the best idea of the whole. Isolated details may be better copied in this or the other example, but none of them give such a good general impression.

The herm was discovered in 1868 at Terracina and is now in the Grand Ducal Library at Schwerin. The head rests unbroken on the original herm so that its position is correct, which is not the case in the well-known examples in Sanssouci and Naples, which are also not so well preserved and of

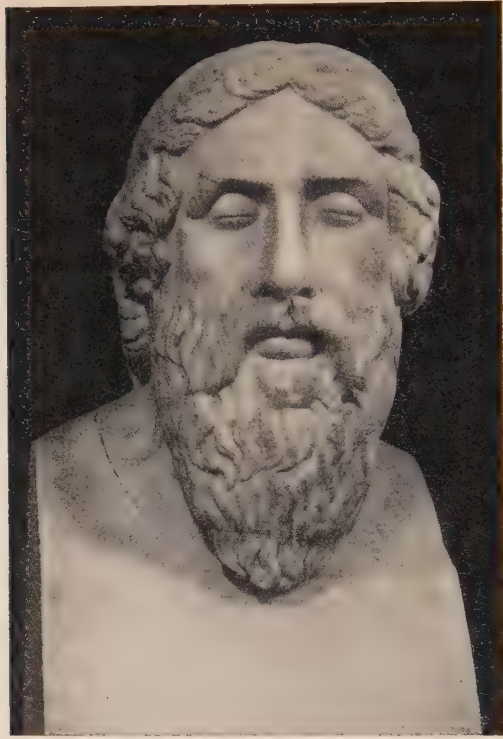


FIG. 72. HEAD OF HOMER. Marble (bust restored).  
Vatican, Rome.

inferior workmanship. In the Schwerin bust the lower part of the nose is the only restoration worth mentioning.

A blind old man is represented with a realism that Greek art only attained after Alexander. Both age and blindness are expressed in a masterly manner. Age is indicated by the shrivelled skin all lined and wrinkled, and in the way the hair is combed forward from the back without disguising the baldness above the forehead; his blindness is shown in the peculiar modelling of the eyes. The eyeball is noticeably small and sunk deep in the shrunken sockets. This has the effect of suggesting the extinguished, vacant look of a blind eye. Added to this is the position of the eyebrows, of which



ROMAN CITIZEN WEARING THE TOGA

BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON





the part near the nose is on both sides drawn down to shade the eye. The vertical wrinkles over the nose are partly caused by this. It has been demonstrated by oculists that the reduction of the eyeball and this position of the brows are peculiar to that form of blindness which is due to an injury to the fore part of the eyeball, so long as a trace of sensibility to light remains. On the other hand, the raised position of the head and upward look, which is indicated by the outer half of the eyebrow, in contradiction of the inner half, and causes the arched wrinkles in the forehead, is by no means the manner of the blind, who are more accustomed to hold the head down. This pose of the head and the lightly opened mouth are introduced as a characteristic means of expressing poetical inspiration. Thus the inner vision of the poet is contrasted with his physical infirmity. For the latter the artist probably used as model a sufferer from the so-called Egyptian blindness so frequent in the south. But the pose and the spiritual expression he has created from his own conception of the inspired poet.

The nearest analogy to the style of the Homer is offered by the characteristic works of the time of the Diadochi, as, for example, the Laocoon, which is in the spirit of this epoch though a little later in execution, the Marsyas, the bearded Centaur with the Eros on his back, and the portrait of Socrates in the Villa Albani at Rome. The Homer shows the tendency of Hellenistic art to go to extremes and the tendency to encroach on the pathological. The artist has given us such a truthful and penetrating picture of the decay of old age and blindness, that had he not known how to lend a spark of divine fire to the head we should have had before us nothing but a sad story of querulous senility. Far different from this are the portraits of Homer which belong to older Greek art before the time of the Diadochi. In these the venerability of the old poet prince is the keynote. The type

of the venerable old man (fig. 72) represented in many examples with long flowing beard and slightly wavy hair arranged in a round band is characteristic of these. His blindness is characterised by the peaceful lowering of the lids over the sightless eyes. "The refined modelling, the tranquil face with its broad simple planes, and the treatment of the hair and beard point to the last decades of the fifth century B.C. The bust imparts a peaceful solemn feeling, and gives us the impression of the father of poetry, the wise singer and seer as he was conceived in the prime of Hellenic culture."

But the type of the Schwerin bust was much more famous in later antique times. It was probably executed for one of the great libraries of the time of the Diadochi, either that of Alexandria or that at Pergamus, from the third to the second century B.C., the time of the great Homeric studies. The original was possibly a herm, not a statue.

## PLATE LVII

### TWO ROMAN PORTRAITS

*Bust of Agrippa. Marble. Louvre, Paris. Bronze of an unknown man, Palace of the Conservatoire, Rome*

The two portraits here given on one plate, differing widely both in the character of their subjects and in their artistic treatment, are well qualified to represent the achievement and capability of Roman portraiture. The first is proved by the portraits on inscribed coins to be Agrippa and thus in all probability belongs to the last decades of the century before Christ;<sup>1</sup> the date and name of the other are both uncertain. The widely accepted designation of L. Junius Brutus, which

<sup>1</sup> Agrippa was born in 63 B.C. and died 12 B.C., at the age of 51.

PLATE LVII



BUST OF AGRIPPA  
LOUVRE, PARIS



BRONZE HEAD OF AN UNKNOWN ROMAN  
PALACE OF THE CONSERVATOIRE, ROME



was supported by a faint resemblance to this founder of the republic and first consul as he appears on coins of a later time, is without any proof. The period of the style cannot be fixed owing to the insufficiency of portraits related in style of which the date is known. But the masterly finish of the execution in bronze, either by a Greek master or a Roman under Greek influence, the general conception and the expression of the face, which is a characteristic rendering of an old Roman, point to an early date, perhaps even to the second century B.C.<sup>1</sup>

The bust of Agrippa was discovered in 1792 on the site of the ancient town of Gabii, east of Rome, on the occasion of the excavations instituted by Prince Borghese, together with other antiques which were brought with it to Paris in 1808. It is admirably modelled and, except for the end of the nose which has been restored, in excellent preservation. It may have been at one time erected in Gabii in gratitude for some acquired advantage. M. Vipsanius Agrippa, the victor of Actium and influential adviser of Augustus, the great benefactor of the people, whose memory endures in many buildings and gardens on the Campus Martius, is represented in ripe manhood in a faithful and individual portrait, though with the elimination of all accidental details. The absence of beard in the fashion of the time and the shortness of the hair are in accordance with many portraits of members of the imperial house.<sup>2</sup> But what distinguishes this head from those tranquil, reserved portraits, and gives to it a stamp of vitality, is the firm penetrating glance of the deep-set eyes, that is more effective through the contraction of the brows and the side turn of the head. Iron strength of will and

<sup>1</sup> Points of resemblance to late Hellenistic portraits have been recently discovered in the bronze, and its Roman origin is for the moment doubted.

<sup>2</sup> The head of Augustus in the statue from *Prima Porta* (Plate LVIII.) is an example.



inexorable energy, only restrained by practical common sense and inflexible determination are the characteristic features of this man. These characteristics, which must have exercised a powerful influence on all around him, are so emphasised in the portrait as to repel rather than attract, at any rate on the first impression.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, the face of the unknown man which is so excellently rendered in this well-preserved bronze head is strongly attractive. Though its place of discovery is unknown, the head has been traced to the collection of Cardinal Rodolfo Pio di Carpi in the sixteenth century. It was bequeathed by him to the town of Rome, and on his death in 1564 became the property of the magistrates of Rome. Since then it has become famous as one of the finest pieces in the collection of the Conservatoire. The personality of the sitter interests the observer at the first glance. It is a faithful portrait from life with all the accidental features of external appearance. The large ears, the thick eyebrows, the short beard, the high forehead prominent at the base, the curious bitterness of the large mouth, and the long nose are all the result of accurate observation of nature, and the thin and sunken character of the face and gloomy mournful look in the eyes<sup>2</sup> show understanding and power of expression. But the general impression is of a character study raised to a certain extent above the accidental. The person represented, who is advanced in years, does not exhibit any very high spiritual qualities, but a cold and clear understanding, unshakable earnestness, caution, and foresight. Thus this bronze may

<sup>1</sup> The character of Agrippa was "homely rather than polished" ("vir rusticitati propior quam deliciis," Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 35, 26). His character is indicated by Pliny in the strong and typically national expression *torvitas* (wildness). In Agrippa the "old Roman" is still dominant, though he was by no means without *humanitas* in its widest and noblest sense. He represents the combination of an older and a newer period.

<sup>2</sup> The eyes are inlaid; the pupils are of some brown material, the cornea white



PLATE LVIII



AUGUSTUS

VATICAN MUSEUM, ROME

be reckoned an iconographic masterpiece. In contrast to the passionate and animated features of the Agrippa it has a telling effect in its stern dignity and restraint. In one the type of the republican of the good old stamp is plastically embodied; in the other, although his Roman origin still shines through, the newer type and the influence of Hellenic culture is already recognisable.

## PLATE LVIII

## AUGUSTUS

*Marble statue (painted). In the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican Museum, Rome*

This most famous of all the statues of the emperor, and one of the finest Roman portraits, is rather over life-size. It was discovered in 1863, nine leagues from Rome, on the ancient Via Flaminia under the ruins of that once splendid country house built by Livia, the wife of Augustus, and called Villa Caesarum or Villa ad Gallinas.<sup>1</sup> It was once set up there in a niche. It was well preserved, and it was possible for the sculptor Tenerani to restore it fairly accurately. The execution of the statue is well qualified to give an excellent idea of the art of the Augustan period. It is the work of an unknown master. From traces of colouring that remain it is clear that the hair and drapery and even the armour were at one time painted, while on the nude parts of the body there are no signs of colouring except on the eyes. The remains are too slight to give any idea of the general effect of the splendour of the original colouring.

A majestic, truly princely figure<sup>2</sup> stands before us, a

<sup>1</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 15, 137; Suetonius, *Galba I.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Suetonius, *Augustus*, 79.

strongly-built man in the prime of life. He stands with his weight on his right leg, the left drawn back in the action of walking. He is in the armour of the Emperor. In the bare feet a suggestion of heroic treatment has been proposed, but it seems rather that the academic artist has only followed the old tradition of Greek art. The pose is also modelled on a Greek type, the Doryphorus of Polyclethus. These are instances of the Greek-Roman eclecticism exercised in the art of the time which has its analogy in contemporary literature. Over the tunic, that reaches almost to the knee, he wears a leather jerkin and coat of mail. The Paludamentum was worn over this, but has slipped down and lies in a sweeping line across the middle of the body, is held by the left hand, and then falls straight down. The drapery also shows the spirit of the academic sculptor of the period, and occurs also in the Orestes of the group on Plate XLIV. The left hand, in accordance with the warlike character of the armour, probably held a spear and not the sceptre, which is a restoration. From the commanding gesture of the right hand Augustus is evidently silencing the assembled host preparatory to making a solemn speech.<sup>1</sup> Below on the right-hand side an Amor riding on a dolphin refers to the derivation of the house of Julian from Venus.<sup>2</sup> In the somewhat realistic and individual features of the two-year-old boy a resemblance has been found to Caius, the son of Julia and Agrippa, born in the year of the Parthian successes. This, of course, is only a supposition.

The admirable head rests on a strong neck and shows the same short hair as the other portraits of the emperor. In

<sup>1</sup> Other emperors are represented in a similar manner on historic monuments like the Trajan column and on coins. In the latter the address is indicated by the inscription "adlocutio."

<sup>2</sup> "Clarus Anchisae Venerisque sanguis" ("famous offspring of Venus and Anchises"), sings Horace in the *Carmen Saeculare*, 50 (cf. *Odes*, iv. 15, 32, "Almae progeniem Veneris canemus," "we will sing the descendant of blessed Venus").





FIG. 73. RELIEFS FROM THE BREASTPLATE OF THE AUGUSTUS.

the round smooth face with its prominent cheek-bones appear the features of the famous bust of the youthful Octavian in the Vatican. The delicate health which is noticeable in the latter bust is not hinted at in this strong head and powerful body. The expression of the face is chiefly noticeable for the sharp steady look<sup>1</sup> of the deep-set eyes, of which the pupils are lightly outlined with the chisel and still more relieved by painting; it bespeaks a character as decided and energetic as cautious and passionless. The

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 42. Suetonius, *Augustus*, lxxix.

cold calculating features have an unsympathetic, almost repellent, effect.

What makes this statue invaluable, and attracts the attention of the eye more than anything else, is the lorica with its ornamentation. It faithfully reproduces a cuirass of beaten metal and gives in the reliefs a characteristic example of the embossed metal-work revived at that time (fig. 73). The leather straps that hang from this over the shoulder and hips belong to the jerkin. Fastened at the top with two shoulder pieces, each adorned with a sphinx, the whole of the front of the armour is decorated with symmetrically arranged reliefs. The central group, of which the figures are in stronger relief, represents the voluntary yielding up in 20 B.C. of the Roman standard that had been in the possession of the Parthians from the time of the defeat of Antony and Crassus. A warrior in the arms and uniform of a Roman general, formerly quite improbably interpreted as Mars Ultor, accompanied by the hound sacred to this god, stretches out his right hand to receive a legionary eagle from a somewhat smaller bearded barbarian. Quite recently the youthful warrior has been recognised as an idealised portrait of the twenty-two year old Prince Tiberius, who as the messenger of his step-father fetches the signa<sup>1</sup> and is accompanied by the war dog as guardian of the frontier. The Parthian is thought, on account of the diadem, to be King Phraates IV.<sup>2</sup> But it is more probable that the humbling of the Parthian kingdom in general before Roman military power is all that is intended. On either side are seated female figures, of which she on the left holds a sword with a hilt in the form of a bird's head, the other a large war trumpet ending in a dragon's head and an empty sheath, while before her lies a standard in the form of a boar. They represent the provinces of Hispania and Gallia, against which Agrippa

<sup>1</sup> Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Horace, *Epistles*, i. 12, 27.

battled successfully in 21 B.C., and the Gauls, who were beaten by Messala in 27 B.C. and in 19 B.C., kept that great general of the emperor busy.<sup>1</sup> Below are the guardian deities of the Julian house, Apollo with the lyre on a gryphon and Diana with the torch on a stag. Lower still is the all-nourishing goddess of the Earth against whom two children nestle. With her right hand she clasps a horn of plenty supported in her lap, beside her are two indistinct objects supposed by some to be a tympanum and a poppy-head. She corresponds to the figure of Coelus above who spreads a garment over his head like the vault of heaven. Beneath him, in the stooping attitude and long garment of a charioteer, the youthful Sol drives the prancing steeds of the sun, led by the flying goddesses of the Dew and the Dawn, a graceful group of a draped winged maiden with the pitcher of dew on her shoulders and a woman with a veil and a lighted torch. The meaning of the whole is defined by the subject in the centre of the cuirass. The important victories over the Parthians are referred to in the first place, but together with this is the final tranquillity of east and west after long and wearisome wars, and the consequent blessings for the inhabitants. The historical events suggest a date soon after the return of the prince from the east, about 18 B.C. The age of Augustus, who was at that time in the middle of the forties, corresponds to the face and figure of the statue. Thus the erection of this polychromatic marble statue is almost contemporary with the origin of the *Carmen saeculare* of Horace, which was sung by a chorus of boys and girls in 17 B.C. on the occasion of the celebration of the founding of Rome. It is quite possible that in the introduction of Hispania and Gallia there is a reference to the emperor's rearrangement of these lands, from which he returned after long absence in 13 B.C. Several incidents on this lorica

<sup>1</sup> Cassius Dio, 54, 11; 19-25.

remind one directly of the festival song, and altogether the reliefs give expression to the joyous feelings of the Roman people over the tranquillity of the universe and the blessings of peace which sound all through this and other famous odes of the poet.<sup>1</sup> Statue and song are mutually illustrated by a comparison.

## PLATE LIX

### MARBLE STATUE OF A WOMAN FROM HERCULANEUM

#### *Albertinum, Dresden*

This admirably preserved and well executed statue of the Augustan period was discovered, together with two other similar but smaller statues, at Herculaneum in the beginning of the eighteenth century, on the occasion of the excavation instituted by General Prince von Elboulf. With these it was sent to his uncle Prince Eugen von Savoyen and set up in the latter's palace at Vienna. On his death in 1736 it was acquired by King August III. of Saxony, and under the name of the "large Dresden Herculanian woman" formed one of the most famous works of the "Augusteum" collection. It is now in the Royal Sculpture Gallery, the Albertinum. The three statues have been recognised as true representatives of the Greek antique, particularly among the supporters of Winckelmann. They contributed in no small degree to the improvement of artistic taste in opposition to the then prevalent baroque style.

A youthful female figure is presented in a life-like manner

<sup>1</sup> IV. 2, 4, 5, 14, 15.—Also the dedication of the Ara Pacis (cf. p. 187) is another expression of the same feeling.







MARBLE STATUE OF A WOMAN FROM HERCULANEUM

ALBERTINUM, DRESDEN

before us. She is in a quiet dignified pose, to which a feeling of gentle action is given by the advanced left leg, the contrast in the positions of the arms, and the inclination of the head. The richly draped chiton that reaches to the feet and leaves only the neck bare is for the most part covered by the ample cloak. This is drawn over the back of the head like a veil and arranged in varying folds "with noble freedom and gentle harmony of the whole." Of the two ends of the himation that meet on the left-hand side, one is thrown in a triangular piece over the left shoulder and hangs down over the left arm.

The contemplation of the head which stands out effectively from the background formed by the veil is a source of great delight. The hair, arranged in accordance with a delightful fashion in parallel curls, was originally heightened with golden colouring, traces of red painting as a foundation for the gold being still visible. The delicate modelling of the cheeks, the small half-opened mouth, the regular nose, and deep-set narrow eyes give to the oval face with its rounded chin an expression of graceful womanliness. Quiet earnestness, gentle sadness, and thoughtfulness are suggested by the inclination of the head and the dainty pose of the right hand clasping the cloak. These features show the period and probably the artist under whose influence the original was executed. The spirit of the art of Praxiteles lives in this work (cf. also fig. 22).

It is significant of the effectiveness of the statue that the spectator notices first of all the beauty of the work and only afterwards inquires after the subject. Yet this has, of course, been frequently discussed since its discovery, though without any certain conclusion being arrived at. At first considered to be a Roman Vestal Virgin, it was soon, on account of its style and type, recognised as Greek, and thought to be either a goddess (Demeter or Core), or a strongly idealised portrait,

or a statue from a tomb. It cannot be denied that the gentle sadness of the face is appropriate to both Demeter and Core, and it is a fact that types similar to that of our statue occur in the representations of these goddesses. But in the absence of a determinative attribute this remains a mere conjecture. And whether the three originals were originally grouped together or were single Greek figures only joined in a group in Roman times, their original destination as votive gifts or decorations of a grave is still possible. Such sculpture can be traced in similar positions. The gesture and draperies of the Herculanean were already customary for statues of mortals from about the middle of the fourth century B.C. The designation of these three statues cannot be finally settled until the place and conditions of discovery are accurately known. The suggestion that they were erected in memory of three Herculanean women seems plausible. In this case the statues, as was frequently the case with Roman portraits, must have been reproduced in an idealised style after Greek models from the best period. But it is also possible that the three figures were set up in Herculaneum in the decoration of some house or square as copies of Greek representations of goddesses or mortal women.

We must content ourselves with these hypotheses. But with or without an explanation the beauty of the modelling, the decided outlines, the rhythm of the drapery, the unaffected nobility and gracious charm of this figure will be felt by every observer. Particularly noticeable is the earnestness of the whole statue, the "noble simplicity, quiet greatness," which justify the epithet "divine" which Winckelmann applied to "this masterpiece of Greek art."

## PLATE LX

## ROMAN CITIZEN WEARING THE TOGA

*Marble statue. British Museum, London*

This over life-size statue, of which neither the place of origin nor of its discovery is certain, may be reckoned on account of its execution and the type of the head as belonging to the time of the republic or the beginning of the empire. The manner in which the toga is worn is not inconsistent with this period. Apart from lesser restorations, the nose and ears, the greater part of the neck with a piece of the tunic, and the left hand with the roll of parchment are new. According to an examination of the original the head, which is inserted in the statue, is regarded as genuine.

The statue represents an unknown Roman of a ripe age in the costume of a simple citizen. He wears, in addition to the tunic and the calcei, a plain toga. The statue was probably erected in honour of the deceased either in an open space in his home or on his tomb. He stands in a quiet but proud attitude with his head slightly raised, a plastic embodiment of the "gravitas" of the "civis Romanus." The broad wrinkled face with its quite short beard is faithfully rendered with all its accidental details. It is among those fairly numerous Roman heads that arouse the interest of the beholder and imprint themselves firmly on his memory on account of their strong characterisation and life-like representation. The contracted, deeply lined forehead, in which the hair grows in the form of a triangle, the deep wrinkle over the nose, the slanting lines of the cheek, the down-drawn line of the firmly closed mouth, and the sharp steady glance of the eyes, all contribute to the expression of this portrait.

It shows strength of will and purpose, clear practical understanding, and marked self-reliance, but at the same time a certain primitiveness and want of refinement. These are qualities which this head has in common with the majority of those of the unknown's fellow-citizens, and are in fact the fundamental features of the Roman character. But the general impression is distinguished owing to the imposing effect of the toga, which enwraps the body in full richly draped folds and gives a stately appearance to the figure. Concerning the form and arrangement of this garment, and particularly the origin of the overlap on the right side of the body, the so-called sinus, absolutely authentic information has not yet been obtained. What may be regarded as permanent or probable is as follows. The toga, a woollen garment of heavy material and white in colour, was cut in the form of an oval and about three times the height of a man at the shoulder. Doubled, it was first thrown over the left shoulder with a third of its length hanging down in front, so that it reached the ground; the remaining two-thirds was then taken across the back and under the right arm, drawn across the chest and again thrown over the left shoulder. This form of the toga is here recognisable in an excellent example, apart from slight deviations from the usual in detail; thus the right shoulder together with the arm and hand are wrapped in the cloth. Certain precepts of Quintilian<sup>1</sup> concerning the wearing of the garment are illustrated in the statue. The round form is seen at the hem of the cloth,<sup>2</sup> the sinus reaches to the right knee,<sup>3</sup> the balteus, the part that lies across the chest, appears neither

<sup>1</sup> *Institutio Oratoria*, xi. 3, 137, *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> "Ipsam togam rotundam esse et apte caesam velim" ("I would have the toga itself cut round and neatly").

<sup>3</sup> "Sinus decentissimus, si aliquo supra imam togam fuerit, nunquam certe sit inferior" ("the 'sinus' is most seemly, if it is a little above the lowest part of the toga, it should never be below this"). (For the MS. "togam" in most editions "tunicam" is inserted.)



too tight nor too loose,<sup>1</sup> the left arm is bent almost to a right angle.<sup>2</sup> Thus our statue is also instructive in detail. But the value of the statue lies in the fact that we have here a Roman of the good old stamp in the national dress of the "gens togata." It gains in importance by a comparison with Greek and particularly with Attic portraits of the best period. For not only the contrast of the loose stately toga with the clinging himation, but the difference between the whole appearance of the proud dignified Roman and the gay mobile Greek, above all the expression of the Roman head, with its practical common sense in place of the refined spiritual features of the Hellenic type, are well qualified to illustrate the distinctive individualities of the two great nations of antiquity.

<sup>1</sup> "Ille (sinus), qui sub umero dextro ad sinistram oblique ducitur velut balteus, nec strangulet nec fluat" ("this (the sinus), which is drawn like a belt under the right shoulder to the left in a slanting line, should neither stretch nor hang limp").

<sup>2</sup> "Sinistrum brachium eo usque adlevandum est, ut quasi normalem illum angulum faciat" ("the left arm should be raised so that it forms in a manner a right angle").

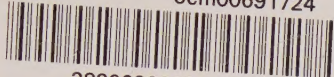




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